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The New
REPUBLIC

July 2, 1945

Young Nelson Rockefeller

by Helen Fuller

Solution in Poland . . . . . *Editorial*

San Francisco Finale . . . *Thomas F. Reynolds*

The Attack on Price Control . . . *S. E. Harris*

British Tories Sling the Mud . . . *Fleet Street*

The Central Valley Project . *Walter E. Packard*

The Dickinson Scandal . . . . . *Conrad Aiken*

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The New Labor Bill

The bill to revise national labor legislation, sponsored by Senators Hatch, Burton and Ball, was devised by the wrong methods and embodies many dubious provisions. Labor organizations are not just private combinations to be disciplined by the state; they are an integral part of economic democracy in a modern industrial society. Problems of labor adjustment cannot be solved without their aid and consent. Any program of over-all revision of the labor laws must be derived in part from their deliberations as well as from consultation of employers and the public interest.

Compulsory arbitration, in the sense of enforcing both acceptance of arbitration and the decision of the arbitrators, is not consonant with the practices of a "free society" in which industry is privately owned and businessmen can make profits. Under the much praised railroad labor law, unions are not compelled to arbitrate; they are bound merely to accept the decision if they decide to arbitrate. Nor is there any "one-sidedness" in the National Labor Relations Act, passed to protect the workers' right to self-organization and collective bargaining against any interference by employers. There can be no balancing of rights and duties as between unions and employers until this basic right is established.

No doubt much improvement is possible in the federal labor code. Unions, once established and powerful, must accept the responsibilities commensurate with their place in the community. But the drafting of such legislation is a serious job, not to be tossed off by a few Senators and consulting experts.

Revamping Food Control

Mr. Hoover did a good job with food administration in the last war, and he is right about the principles by which this task should be managed. All the governmental purchasing, whether for the army and navy or for the Allies and relief, should be centralized under one head. The Food Administrator should control the food industries from top to bottom, with power to license them, fix prices, set profit margins and control distribution. It is nonsensical to divide these responsibilities among different and often competing agencies and then wonder where the food has gone, or why it is not moving into distribution, or what can be done about black markets.

When all this is said, however, the question remains whether it is wise to attempt to complete a reorganization at this stage of the game. The present job is a bigger one than Mr. Hoover had to handle, and even he did not attempt control of retail prices or rationing of the consumer. The OPA has amassed considerable experience in these fields. Congress, in its effort to destroy the OPA, may easily make a bad situation worse. Too many influences are at work to nullify price control altogether. Let us wait and see what program is suggested by President Truman and his new Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Anderson.

Plus and Minus at San Francisco

Now that the San Francisco Conference has ended, it is worth while to look back on a few of the calamities that were freely predicted in the press, none of which happened. Pessimistic newspapers said that the con-

CONTENTS

The Week 3

Editorials

Solution in Poland 6
The Supreme Court on Liberty 7

General Articles

Young Nelson Rockefeller . . Helen Fuller 9
The Attack on Price Control . . . . . Seymour E. Harris 12
The Central Valley Project . Walter E. Packard 14
San Francisco Finale . Thomas F. Reynolds 16
The Canadian Elections . . . . . Robert Leigh Weaver 18
British Tories Sling the Mud . Fleet Street 19
This Side of the Truth (verse) . Dylan Thomas 20
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 21
International Notes . . . . . E. L. P. 22
The Bandwagon 23

Correspondence 23

Books in Review

The Dickinson Scandal . . . Conrad Aiken 25
Life Begins at Fifty . . . . Bernard Jaffe 26
Critic with an Esthetic . . Arthur Berger 26
The Beast Within . . . Elizabeth Huling 28
Praise of Art . . . . . Arnold Isenberg 28
Design for Learning . Eduard C. Lindeman 29
A Reader's List 29

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ference would split hopelessly on the unlimited veto power of the Big Five. It didn't. We were told that the arrest of sixteen Polish leaders had ended all prospect of agreement; the prediction was wrong. The small powers, the Cassandras announced, would just be dragged at the tail of the big powers' chariot; but they proved to have a real will of their own, and were able to modify the Charter in several important ways.

Considering the conference as a whole, in its relation to worldwide public opinion, we believe that Russia came out the unquestioned winner in terms of moral prestige. She knew from the very beginning what she wanted, worked hard for it and gave in ungrudgingly at the end when it proved necessary. The country which suffered most in loss of moral stature was the United States, which engineered the entrance of Argentina, showed hostility to the USSR and haggled over the questions of full employment and independence for colonial peoples. Americans can feel little pride in the role we played at San Francisco.

Unrest in Italy

No sooner had the new Italian government of Premier Ferruccio Parri taken office than it was faced with a wave of unrest in Northern Italy. The immediate causes of the disturbances are economic as well as political. The cost of living has skyrocketed since the liberation and almost no measures have been taken to control the inflationary spiral. Consequently, the demand for higher wages has led to widespread strikes. On the political side, the purge of Fascists by the government has been slower than the Italian people wish. Moreover, little headway has been made on the vital constitutional issue of monarchy. But these economic and political causes of unrest give only a partial explanation. Behind both is the fact that post-Fascist Italy, so far at least, has done very little to remove those conditions which, some twenty-five years ago, led to the rise of fascism in the first place. Then, too, the country was faced with an economic and political crisis which found expression in the revolutionary mood of the people, a mood which was artificially quenched by the Fascists, who could win power only with the help of those big capitalists and landowners whose interests were directly threatened by the crisis. The wretched condition of Italy was not remedied by fascism. Her prime need today is for a basic reorientation both of her economy and of her politics which will guarantee a juster distribution of economic and political power.

The Low Countries Go Left

While the political crisis in Belgium continues, precipitated by the Van Acker government's refusal to guarantee the return of King Leopold from Germany, a new cabinet has been created in the Netherlands. Headed by Professor Willem Schermerhorn, it includes eleven members who had been prominent leaders in the resistance movement against the Germans. Schermerhorn is one of the sponsors of the Netherlands People's Movement which was formed in Amsterdam on May 12. Its manifesto calls for the greatest possible unity among Dutch religious and political groups, asks for a rebirth of Dutch thinking and repudiates the division of the people along lines of class, race and state as a basis of political action. The manifesto also demands the people's right to a voice in the organization of industry, cultural life and the Dutch overseas territories. Queen Wilhelmina's decision to entrust the resistance movement with the government of her country shows good sense and a degree of understanding, which rarely exists in monarchical circles, of the inevitable trend to the Left in the wake of fascism. The fact that her neighbor, King Leopold of Belgium, has not succeeded similarly, suggests that the personal animosity which he has aroused should be sufficient reason to deprive him of his throne. For the opposition to him is purely personal, and no voice has been heard, even on the Left, in favor of abolishing the monarchy as such. A king who does not understand this does not deserve to remain a constitutional monarch.

Franco as War Criminal

A formal demand has been made that the new United Nations organization should list Franco as a war criminal, and try him along with the others. Technically, this appears to be outside the jurisdiction of the new organization; but that Franco is a war criminal and ought to be tried seems to us beyond dispute. He sent a Spanish legion to fight the Russians; he repeatedly expressed his hope for an Axis victory; he gave all possible aid to Hitler and Mussolini, and only failed to enter the war on the Axis side because he didn't dare to. If this doesn't make him a war criminal, what would?

The Presidential Succession

President Truman has suggested to Congress that a new law should be passed in regard to the presidential succession. As matters now stand, if a Vice President succeeds to the presidency through death, and himself dies or is removed from office, the succession goes down through the members of the cabinet, beginning with the Secretary of State. Mr. Truman suggests that the law be changed to make the Speaker of the House the third in line instead of the Secretary of State, on the ground that the Speaker is an elected official and presumably comes nearer to representing the interests of the American people than does any appointed member of the cabinet. But there are grave weaknesses in his plan. The Speaker may come from a poll-tax district in a Southern state and represent in fact only 10 percent of a constituency of a few thousand voters. He may be of the opposite party to the President whom he would succeed and might be op-

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posed to all his policies. The Secretary of State on the other hand is certain to be in sympathy with the policies and attitude of the President, or he would not be there. It seems to us, therefore, that on the whole the best solution is, if the President and Vice President should both die or be removed from office, to call a new presidential election as promptly as possible, the man elected to serve out the unfulfilled term. During the emergency until that election was held, the succession should go down as it does now through the members of the cabinet.

Economic Coöperation

In voting to extend the present reciprocal-trade-agreements program, the Senate has cleared the way for increased economic coöperation with other nations. The Administration is now authorized to negotiate tariff reductions up to an additional 50 percent, thus greatly strengthening our bargaining power. Several proposed amendments which would have required congressional approval of each specific agreement or exempted various specific commodities from tariff revision were wisely defeated by Senate vote.

Special credit should go to the nine Republican Senators who refused to allow the trade-agreements program to be treated as a party issue. On the test vote to reverse the Finance Committee recommendation and authorize an extra 50-percent reduction in tariffs, these nine Republicans joined with 38 Democrats to restore the original proposal, 47 to 33. The Republican Senate leadership did everything in its power to defeat this measure. Reprisals were threatened and lobbyists were encouraged to work on those who refused to be a part of a solid party front against the measure. Only nine Republicans believed in the necessity of world coöperation enough to revolt against the Taft-Wherry brand of leadership. Without their support, the Administration's program would probably have been defeated. These nine deserve national appreciation and respect.

The FEPC

Southern Democrats have used all their tricks against the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and in spite of President Truman's forthright statements making the FEPC an Administration issue, the Southern Democrats blocked consideration of the whole war-agencies-appropriation bill until they thought they had enough votes to throw out the FEPC item. As this is written, every effort is being made to obtain the two-thirds vote of the Senate necessary to suspend the rules and consider the FEPC appropriation. Unless this succeeds, the present Fair Employment Practice Committee dies on June 30.

Regardless of the outcome, work will continue on the drive to obtain permanent fair-employment legislation. Two-thirds of the House members will have to sign a discharge petition to get the bill on the floor, since the reactionary Rules Committee has refused its approval. Following the summer recess, Senator Chavez is also expected to press for Senate consideration of his bill for a permanent FEPC, and public support must be kept up with this action in mind.

General Ike

To be a national hero to the exuberant American people is an extremely difficult role. The hero must walk a chalk line between appearing egotistical or displaying that excessive modesty which, so the psychologists tell us, is only egotism in reverse. Admiral George Dewey was unable to play the role successfully; when the American people presented him with a house, he deeded it to his wife and was cast into limbo. Former Colonel Lindbergh was unable to measure up to the requirements; he turned isolationist, and displayed a dangerous sympathy for the Nazi ideology, just when both these ideas were going into the discard. We don't yet know whether General Eisenhower will be raised to the final dizzy heights or not; but if he is, we would lay substantial odds that he will acquit himself with dignity, forebearance, genuine modesty and the saving grace of humor. Unlike some other generals whom we might name, he combines brilliance on the battlefield with true compassion and a repugnance for war which does credit to his qualities of heart and mind. His repudiation of political ambition was exactly right, and admirably expressed. The country is lucky to have him.

Military Review

The Okinawa campaign closes out with the counting of 98,564 Japanese dead, the capture of 6,932 prisoners, the death of General Buckner and a Kamikaze attack in which the enemy lost 59 planes and we two ships sunk, an auxiliary badly damaged and two other ships hit. The total casualties to our side were 45,000 plus, not including four weeks of navy casualties.

It is an assemblage of items which rather neatly sums up the whole campaign. In one of his last press

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conferences before being hit by that Japanese shell, General Buckner still insisted that there were only 80,000 Japanese troops on the island; and on the day the death was announced, General Eisenhower was repeating to an audience the military truism that the way to reduce casualties is to strike your enemy with absolutely overwhelming force.

The forces on Okinawa, except for the last days, consisted of four Army and two Marine divisions which, if all were at full strength, amounted to 90,000 men. Against 80,000, counting the fire superiority furnished by our ships offshore, the fact that control of the sea allowed us to bring in unlimited tanks, and the fact that we had control of the air, this would constitute overwhelming superiority. Against 105,000 Japanese, the overwhelming nature of the superiority is more dubious, and the enemy chose to fight the campaign under conditions which make it doubtful whether there was any superiority at all at the points of contact.

American tanks, planes and firepower were no doubt decisive in the long run, through forcing the Japs to stay under cover during daylight, and so permitting our troops a mobility which theirs always lacked. But this is decisiveness at the second remove, and there is no reason to believe that the picture was very much altered from that at Iwo Jima, where it was reported that all those tons of explosives poured into the place during the bombardments had not killed more than 200 Japs. On both islands the Japanese had to be cut down in close-range infantry fighting; our forces did not have overwhelming superiority, and they did have heavy casualties.

The front on which the fighting took place was narrow, to be sure, and only a limited number of men could be employed at a time. General Eisenhower faced similar narrow-frontage problems both in Tunisia and Sicily, and he solved them by using his superior numbers in continual and rapid reliefs, which wore down down the defense. At Okinawa, all problems had to be solved by the local tactical commanders and the soldiers under them.

The total effect is to furnish a thoroughly adequate answer to Mr. David Lawrence's criticism of the conduct of the campaign, which Admiral Nimitz replied to in person, an unprecedented step. Indeed, the surprising feature of the whole business is the tactical efficiency and tenacity of the American troops. But at the same time another line of criticism is opened against the high command which so underestimated both the number of its opponents and the effectiveness of the means at their disposal. Nobody, for example, seems to have anticipated the Kamikaze in such numbers; or that the Japanese would make such effective use of their artillery on the island.

It is possible that the criticism goes to a higher level than even the Pacific command, and that even if that command had wished to put in more nearly overwhelming force on Okinawa, it would have been unable to do so. All the army divisions that have ever worked with the fleet were used on Okinawa. Of the six Marine divisions, two and part of a third had been used on Iwo Jima and were badly in need of rest and recruitment after that experience; two others were employed on the island, and when the Second Marine Division was put in during the closing days of the campaign, it looks very much as though it represented nearly the final reserves.

The account of the sinking of the destroyer *Emmon* and the hints from the final Kamikaze attack at Okinawa make it clear that the Baka bomb is being developed energetically by the Japanese and is becoming a far more dangerous weapon than it was earlier, as the enemy learns to use it. Its control still seems to be poor; but the Japs are overcoming this by employing the Baka against ships which have already been damaged and have thus lost part of their power of maneuver. There is insufficient information to explain why the Kamikaze attack at the close of the Okinawa campaign, when the means of defense were improving, should have achieved results commensurate with the earlier attacks, but the suggestion is quite strong that Bakas are responsible. They probably represent the leading technical problem requiring solution before the invasion of Japan proper can begin.

Solution in Poland

THE SOLUTION of the long-delayed Polish question is a triumph of Big Three diplomatic coöperation and bodes well for the future of the United Nations. It proves that, granted patience and understanding, even the most complicated international issue can be settled amicably. The stakes of each one of the Big Three were high. For Russia a satisfactory solution of the Polish question was a matter of territorial security. For Great Britain it was a matter of prestige, as she had ostensibly gone to war in defense of Poland. For the United States it was a matter of moral influence toward democracy in European affairs. It is satisfying to know, therefore, that Mr. Harry Hopkins played a considerable part in achieving the *modus vivendi* after the post-Yalta negotiations had bogged down.

As far as the composition of the new government is concerned, it corresponds to the Russian interpretation of the Yalta formula according to which the Lublin or Warsaw government was to be supplemented by democratic Polish leaders from inside Poland and abroad. But while Moscow may have had its way, it would be erroneous to assume that Britain, throughout the war the host of the exiled Polish government, has played a losing game. On the contrary, the Poles from London who have entered the new government—Peasant Party leader Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Socialist

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leader Jan Stanczyk and Professor Stanislaw Grabski—represent the very best elements among the Polish emigrés. Ever since the former two had left the Government-in-Exile because of its intransigent attitude on the border question, the London government had been a hollow shell, maintained only by the continued legal recognition of the Anglo-American powers. It had consisted mainly of feudal reactionaries who objected to the Curzon Line because transfer of the former eastern Polish provinces to Russia means loss of their landed estates, and of those Socialists whose hatred of Russia and communism has become an obsession. When, some months ago, this strange combination abolished the Polish National Council—a sort of parliament-in-exile—which had criticized its policies and of which Professor Grabski was chairman, the Polish Government-in-Exile indicated that it did not care what became of its reputation. It had become at least as unrepresentative as the Soviet-sponsored Warsaw regime.

It will be recalled that after the Yalta conference, agreement on the future Polish government was made almost impossible by the news, first published by the exiled government, of the arrest of sixteen Polish underground leaders by the Soviet authorities. In retrospect it is clear that Russia made a major mistake in not announcing the arrests herself and publishing the full charges. There can be no doubt that the trial of the sixteen, on the eve of the efforts to form a Polish government of national unity, contributed immeasurably to clearing the air. The trial—as far as can be judged at this distance and in terms of Soviet jurisprudence, which does not know juries and permits the accused to testify against himself—appears to have been fair. The main charge was diversionary acts against the Red Army by armed members of the London-directed Polish underground. The confessions substantiated the charge, though they might be discounted were it not for the fact that the exiled government itself now proudly reveals that at least part of the charges are true. But the evidence independently produced by the Soviet prosecutor also bears them out.

Twelve of the sixteen were found guilty in varying degrees and sentences ranged from ten years, for Major General Leopold Okulicki, commander of the Polish home army, down to four months. But similar offenses, had they been committed behind Anglo-American lines, for instance, would have certainly called for the death sentence, at least, in the case of the leaders. It is difficult to say why the sentences were so light, but it may be assumed that Russia is less interested in punishment than in reconciling as many Poles as possible to the fact that they will have to live in the shadow of the Russian bear. The charges as well as the sentences have had the effect of giving a final blow to the Polish Government-in-Exile. True enough, Soviet jurisprudence was once more the handmaiden of Soviet politics. But the circumstances surrounding both the actions and the arrest of the sixteen amply justify Soviet leniency. It appeared from the confessions that the Polish underground had been continuously and consistently misinformed by the exiled government concerning Russia's intentions in Poland. They had been told that Russia wanted to absorb all of Poland, and that their chief aim should be the preservation of Polish independence, even if it meant plotting against the Red Army which was then still fighting the Germans.

The allegations of the Polish Government-in-Exile have now been given the lie by Russia's readiness to abide by the Yalta agreement, the decision of the new government of national unity to hold free and secret elections and the withdrawal of recognition by Great Britain and the United States from the London government.

The Supreme Court on Liberty

IN THE FINAL DAY of its session, the Supreme Court handed down four decisions of first significance for democratic processes. Two were celebrated cases—the anti-trust action against the Associated Press and the attempted deportation of Harry Bridges. The other two involved the rights of labor organizations under the anti-trust laws. We cannot here attempt to discuss these decisions as developments in law, but it is important to know briefly what was decided, and why.

The Associated Press, an organization of newspapers, has by-laws which make it virtually impossible for a new paper to be admitted to membership and enjoy its news services, if a competitor in the same field should object. A Federal District Court decided that these by-laws constitute an illegal restraint of trade, and decreed that neither they nor any others intended for the same purpose should be obeyed. The Supreme Court upheld this judgment.

Several intricate arguments were employed by the Associated Press to justify its rules, but all of them were rejected by the Court. Most important was the contention that judicial control of the business of newspaper publishing was an interference with the freedom of the press, guaranteed by the Constitution. We cannot phrase the answer to this argument better than has the majority opinion of the Court itself, written by Mr. Justice Black. The constitutional guarantee of a free press, it declared,

> rests on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public, that a free press is a condition of a free society. Surely a command that the government itself shall not impede the free flow of ideas does not afford non-governmental combinations a refuge if they impose restraints on that constitutionally guaranteed freedom.

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Freedom to publish means freedom for all and not for some. Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to prevent others from publishing is not.

The effect of the decision, if it is not evaded, will be to allow a daily like Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun* to obtain an Associated Press franchise, in spite of any objection by the Chicago *Tribune*. It will be to allow new and competitive newspapers to spring up in smaller cities where the morning field is now monopolized by a single journal, provided anyone wishes to risk his capital in this manner. Denial of equal access to the services of the leading news organization can no longer act as a barrier. No doubt the Associated Press will try some other device to protect the monopoly of its members, and in this case future litigation may be necessary. It may even try to obtain congressional protection of its exclusiveness. On this account it would be well for the public to bear in mind the words of the Court which so clearly demonstrate that the AP is in this respect not a friend, but an enemy, of a free press. It has acted as a business organization to protect the profits and property of its members from competition.

The majority opinion in the Bridges case also contains sentences which ought to become classic in the American tradition of liberty. Aliens who are or have been affiliated with an organization which aims to overthrow the government by force must, under the law, be deported. Bridges, an Australian, was charged with being affiliated with the Communist Party, largely because he coöperated with a Communist union, the Marine Workers' Industrial Union. The Court did not concern itself primarily with the question whether Communists do in fact aim forcefully to overthrow the government. It pointed out merely that coöperation with an organization for a lawful purpose does not convict a person of belief in any unlawful purposes the organization may have, and does not necessarily constitute membership in or "affiliation" with that organization.

Bridges coöperated with the Marine Workers' Union to benefit the lot of the workers on the water front. But "one who coöperated with it in promoting its legitimate objectives certainly could not by that fact alone be said to sponsor or approve its general or unlawful objectives." Mr. Justice Douglas, who wrote the opinion, declared, "Those who joined forces with Russia to defeat the Nazis may not be said to have had an alliance to spread the cause of communism. An individual who makes contributions to feed hungry men does not become 'affiliated' with the Communist cause because those men are Communists." This obvious logic should be observed by those who have used the smearing tactics lavishly employed by the Dies Committee, Elizabeth Dilling, *et al.*

Mr. Justice Murphy, in his concurring opinion, took cognizance of the real motives behind the effort to dispose of Bridges as a labor leader, by stating that seldom had there been "such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise that freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution. . . . For more than a decade, powerful economic and social forces have combined with public and private agencies to seek the deportation."

The Court, however, does not regard all possible union activities as legitimate. It ruled that the New York local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was in violation of the Sherman law by conspiring with businessmen to prevent installation of electrical equipment made outside the city. At the same time, however, it held that the Norris-LaGuardia Act forbade the issuance of an injunction against the union alone, and that only those activities which involved it with non-labor groups could be enjoined.

In the fourth case, the Court held that a union did not violate the anti-trust laws by refusing to work for a given employer, even though the action put that employer out of business. "It is not a violation of the Sherman Act for laborers in combination to refuse to work. They can sell or not sell their labor as they please, and upon such terms and conditions as they choose, without infringing the anti-trust laws." There remains the possibility that a union seeking to put an employer out of business can be sued for damages under state laws.

These decisions serve further to define the democratic conception of liberty as it is now sanctioned in the United States. Business interests may not combine to restrict liberty, appealing to liberty as authority for their restriction. Even aliens must be rigorously protected against unproved imputation of designs against the state. Workers may not combine with employers to restrain trade, but by their own combinations they can dispose of their labor as they please. The majority of the Supreme Court means business about liberty, and the liberty which which it is chiefly concerned is that of the common man.

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Young Nelson Rockefeller

When President Roosevelt reorganized the State Department late last year, he never intended any of his appointees to do more than carry out the foreign policy he laid down for them. That was his way. He was his own Secretary of State, the real boss of all our foreign operations. Senators answered protests against appointment of men like James Dunn, Julius Holmes, Joseph Grew and Nelson Rockefeller with: "They won't have any power, so what does it matter?" And Roosevelt promised, "If they don't behave, I'll put them out." But President Truman's way is different. He prefers to give the members of his cabinet power and responsibility and then to back them up when they need help. Obviously, therefore, men who might have been adequate for carrying out Roosevelt policies may be entirely inadequate to make policies for Truman.

The great majority of close observers agree that this is definitely the case with Secretary of State Edward Stettinius. It is also the case with most of Stettinius' top assistants, and it is especially true of Nelson Rockefeller. Whatever usefulness he may have, Nelson Rockefeller, on the basis of his past record and his present expressed attitudes, cannot be trusted with the making of our Latin American policies.

The San Francisco Conference has shown that our relations with the Latin American republics are more than ever in the international spotlight. And that will continue to be the case. Molotov neatly tested our intentions toward Latin America in the course of the dispute over the admission of Argentina at San Francisco, and the Soviet Union will continue to keep a close watch on this hemisphere to determine whether the United States is trying to build a democratic regional organization or a political and economic power bloc.

Nelson Rockefeller is singularly unqualified to handle our Latin American affairs. It is not his fault that he was born a Rockefeller, but that is one strike against him from the start with Latin Americans. They associate the Rockefeller family with Standard Oil and the Chase National Bank and the brand of Yankee imperialism which dominated our Latin American policy until Franklin Roosevelt became President. Likewise, it is not Nelson Rockefeller's fault that his early training made him a thoroughgoing economic conservative, that he was taught veneration of the family's vested interests together with respect for his elders. Along with all this went a Baptist conscience which found its outlet in the traditional family philanthropies and some special ones of his own. From his mother's side, young Nelson inherited an interest in art and the liking for politics of his Grandfather Aldrich, once Senator from Rhode Island. His early education at Lincoln School gave him self-confidence and democratic habits. At Dartmouth College, Nelson was Phi Beta Kappa as well as an outstanding athlete and campus politician.

After a honeymoon trip around the world, Rockefeller was ready to settle down to business. His first two jobs were selected to teach him about real estate and banking. Mornings he worked at the Chase National Bank, of which his Uncle Winthrop Aldrich is president. His afternoons were spent in the rental department of the new Rockefeller Center. At the bank, he came into close contact with one of its vice-presidents and directors, Joseph Rovensky, who has always been held up to Nelson and his brothers by their father as a man whose advice they would do well to follow. He learned quickly in both jobs, and began to show a shrewdness which, combined with his natural charm, made him of increasing value to his father. He became president of Rockefeller Center and was made a director of the Creole Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil affiliate holding Venezuelan properties. About the same time, Nelson was also made president of the Museum of Modern Art. These two interests, in art and oil—as the *New Yorker* has pointed out in a penetrating profile—finally converged in Latin America.

Rockefeller fell hard for the land south of the Rio Grande. He began to plan all kinds of developments, outside of the oil interests, in the Caracas area. He bought large land tracts in Colombia and made plans for future developments there with his own money. Prior to 1938, he made repeated trips through Latin America, accompanied at one time or another by Rovensky, Wallace K. Harrison, one of the architects of Rockefeller Center, and Jay Crane, treasurer of Standard of New Jersey. In 1938, according to Rockefeller's *New Yorker* biographer, these men "began, along with Beardsley Ruml, a [former] director of the Spelman Fund and a good friend of Rockefeller's who had also traveled a lot in South America, a series of informal meetings at which they told one another what was wrong with our hemispheric relations and what ought to be done about them. Rockefeller's favorite theme was the lamentable lack of rapport between United States Government and business interests there."

In the spring of 1940, according to this account, Rockefeller suggested to Ruml that he prepare a memorandum summarizing all their ideas. Ruml's memo especially emphasized that the war in Europe made it more than ever necessary to integrate the economic life of all the Western Hemisphere nations, that the State Department was not doing this job, and urged the creation of a separate government agency with more freedom of action. Ruml then took Rockefeller and the

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memo to his good friend Harry Hopkins. Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, Rockefeller Center labor-relations expert at the time, also interceded with Hopkins and with President Roosevelt. And in August, 1940, the President appointed Nelson Rockefeller chief of what came to be known as the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs.

From the first, the State Department's Latin American staff, headed by Mr. Sumner Welles, resented the Rockefeller organization. They especially resented Rockefeller's easygoing disregard for their traditional red tape, his refusal to go through "channels," to restrict his activities to "coördinating." In *The Time for Decision*, Welles, most politely, put it like this: "Originally it had been intended that, as the title implied, it [the CIAA] should coördinate the efforts of the various agencies of the United States Government with a view to achieving effective coöperation with the other American republics. As the months passed, the Office of the Coördinator devoted itself more and more to administration rather than coördination."

At first, most of Washington did not take Nelson seriously. He was regarded as a kind of super-Boy Scout, an affable "eager beaver," sincere, and honestly interested, as he said, in "promoting better understanding among the Americas." But he soon came to be known as an unusually hard worker and people began to comment on his democratic manner and his winning personality. His office was noted for the fact that practically every big shot in the organization had either been a close personal or business associate of the Rockefeller family in the past.

The Rockefeller office originally consisted of people like William Paley of CBS, DeWitt Wallace, Henry Luce, Jock Whitney, Winston Guest (the polo player), and Joe Rovensky, whom Uncle Winthrop Aldrich had kindly released from the Chase Bank to serve as Nelson's Assistant Coördinator. Most of the first group soon faded away, with the exception of Rovensky. Beardsley Ruml and Anna Rosenberg stayed on as consultants, and some of Nelson's more sincere friends, like Carl Spaeth and John Clark (from Dartmouth days), took over key positions and pushed hard for more health and education projects and for a real program to improve the basic economies of Latin American nations desiring our help. Henry Wallace also encouraged Rockefeller to tackle these questions.

All this was consistent with Rockefeller's philanthropic impulses and with his long-range desire to preserve our economic system. Such development certainly had to take place if political upsets were to be avoided in this hemisphere. Joe Rovensky was assigned to organize a Commercial and Financial Division of the office to run such a program. Probably in Nelson Rockefeller's mind there was nothing extraordinary about putting this most important part of his program in the hands of the Chase Bank.

Meanwhile, the health, educational and agricultural programs produced worth-while results. The propaganda, or "information," work mushroomed out along some profitable, some extravagant and wasteful lines. To head this work, Rockefeller had brought in Frank Jameson, who had previously done a fine job of personal publicity for Nelson in his association with the Greater New York Fund. Incidental to his job of selling the United States to Latin Americans, Jameson has also built Nelson Rockefeller into an international personality, doing a job that Ivy Lee himself would have to admire—and at United States Government expense. Rockefeller's staff think he is more interested in the propaganda program than in any other part of the work, and they think that Frank Jameson is more interested in seeing Nelson Rockefeller follow in the political footsteps of his Grandfather Aldrich than anyone but Nelson himself.

During all this period, which ended about a year ago, the Rockefeller office's score stood definitely on the plus side. Standard Oil and Chase Bank associates popped up too frequently in the local Coördination Committees in Latin America. Parts of the cultural and propaganda programs backfired embarrassingly. Rockefeller persisted in dealing with the industrial cream of Latin America, never with the people themselves or their real representatives. But Latin America was receiving definite benefits, and the United States was at least being made to think of the other republics, and they of us, in a genuinely more friendly manner. Rockefeller was functioning fairly well as a straight operator. He had no power to make political policy toward any Latin American nation, and if he occasionally got out of line on Hull-Welles policies, he was brought sharply to heel by Roosevelt.

In the reorganization following the exit of Welles and the resignation of Hull, President Roosevelt apparently attached no new importance to the promotion of Rockefeller to the position of Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs. He and Hopkins' other protégé, Stettinius, would have stayed under Hopkins-Roosevelt detailed instructions.

But even before Rockefeller's promotion, he was moving toward ever closer collaboration with the most reactionary business forces. After the Board of Economic Warfare assumed most of the economic functions of his division of the CIAA, because of wartime developments, Rovensky resigned his full-time position with Rockefeller and returned to the Chase Bank. But their personal association continued to be close, and Rovensky was a prominent adviser a bit later when Rockefeller took the lead in establishing the Inter-American Development Commission to carry on his earlier program. When the commission met in New York in May, 1944, reactionary business was in the saddle and Argentina was ably represented. The commission was given increasing recognition and influence.

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And even before Roosevelt's death, Rockefeller was getting out of hand. His first significant action after moving to State indicated that reactionary forces had been at work on him from some direction. He named Avra Warren, a sharp and cynical career man, as his deputy director of the American Republics Division. Warren had been serving as minister to the Dominican Republic, where he had the reputation of going along on whatever Dictator Trujillo wanted; in State Department circles Warren is now considered the most important influence on Rockefeller.

The reports that came back to Washington from the Mexico City Conference last March were ominous. The Latin American nations had insisted on Argentina's being brought in on the Act of Chapultepec, the report said, but there had *not* been strong sentiment among the small nations for the kind of resolution on Argentina that was pushed through largely on Rockefeller's insistence, as good as assuring Argentina United Nations status in return for practically nothing. It was learned that even Assistant Secretary Will Clayton had opposed the Rockefeller draft of the resolution in an open dispute before the whole United States delegation. Clayton pointed out that Argentina was perfectly capable of pretending that she had complied with the easy conditions Rockefeller and his advisers—Warren and Leo Pasvolsky—were exacting, without actually making the slightest change.

After Chapultepec, many of those who knew what had actually gone on there expressed deep concern that Rockefeller and his advisers were drifting too close to the strong-arm methods of the "dollar diplomacy" of old Republican days. Was our hard-won progress of the last decade in inter-American relations to be scrapped? Would Rockefeller make the tragic mistake of trying to create political solidarity by economic pressure?

Then came San Francisco, where the fears about the meaning of Chapultepec were shown to be fully justified. The editor of the usually cautious Washington *Post* flatly charged that the actual "deal" to bring Argentina into the United Nations was "made in a smoke-filled room in Mexico City," and without any consultation with the Soviets. The *Post* editor, Herbert Elliston, declared that the action of our State Department in sponsoring the admittance of Argentina amounted to a deliberate breach of a pledge made by President Roosevelt to Stalin at Yalta, that Argentina would not be brought in.

Irrespective of the deep principles involved, it is clear, as Mr. Elliston said, that the State Department was guilty of "intrigue [which] would be disgraceful even if conducted by master hands. At the hands of the amateurs of the State Department, this kind of blundering is worse than criminal, for the consequences may be grievous." Although there was no question but that the Argentine action represented the sentiment of the United States delegation as a whole, Nelson Rockefeller stood out in plain view of the conference as the most active and determined proponent of rushing through Argentine admission, regardless of the feelings of the other nations involved.

Rockefeller's motives might have remained in doubt and his conduct been put down to inexperience or impetuosity had it not been for a most revealing incident which quickly followed. Rockefeller discovered early in his Washington career how important it is to get on well with Congress if you want sufficient funds for the operation of a program. He has always presented his budget requests to Congress in person, and had planned to leave San Francisco long enough to appear in support of the request for the inter-American program of his old office when the Appropriations Subcommittee came to it. So a few days after the Argentine fight, Rockefeller flew back to Washington to testify. The Appropriations Subcommittee, eager for first-hand news of UNCIO, asked him to speak to them off the record on this subject. The Assistant Secretary began by saying that he was proud to report on behalf of himself and Secretary Stettinius that the bringing of Argentina into the world security organization assured a united front in this hemisphere against any further encroachments of communism. The admission of Argentina was necessary, he went on to say, since she is a "bulwark" against the rising tide of communism!

This plain speaking could leave no doubts as to what Nelson Rockefeller and his associates were up to. Some students of Latin American affairs who have followed Rockefeller's career closely, interpret his actions as meaning that he still wants economic coöperation with Latin America as he has all along, but that he now firmly believes that coöperation can only be with the present economic and political powers-that-be, and that the main objective must be to construct a solid front to preserve the status quo in this hemisphere. To follow this course means sacrificing the eventual political security of this hemisphere for an immediate working alliance with the new industrial class which has fattened on the war. These experts say that in terms of the long pull, unless we come to a real understanding with the Soviet Union, which the present Rockefeller attitude would surely prevent, we shall inevitably drift into a coalition of American states, aiming at postwar consolidation of the economic integration so greatly accelerated by the war. In that case, they predict a resurgence of nationalism, based on antagonism to the United States, and the emergence of a series of rightist governments. For, they contend, there is little chance for political stability in this hemisphere under our system unless we have the foresight not to stand in the way of the agrarian revolutions now brewing in many countries. If we insist on blocking political growth of this kind now, it can only mean their renunciation of our leadership in the future.

Washington HELEN FULLER

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The Attack on Price Control

THE PUBLIC is sick of controls. My neighbor in Acton tells me that in the last war she could always get eggs and meat. Indeed, she could —at a price. Then rationing was through prices. Now—partly because of the use of coupons, but mainly because of price controls and other aids in the fight against inflation—the poor have a chance to share in war-scarce commodities.

Price control is endangered by war weariness, by the understandable desire to get rid of the nuisance of rationing, and by increasing scarcities. Greedy businessmen are trying to capitalize on this growing impatience by bombarding Senators with complaints about the losses suffered under price control, the failure of the OPA to understand their difficulties and its determination to continue controls long after the war.

Other agencies have already begun to remove restrictions, and their removal, whatever the justification on other grounds, weakens price control. There are many in Washington who delude themselves into believing that controls interfere with the flow of labor and capital into their most productive use. This may be true when no serious shortages exist, but supply-and-demand controls make for better—not worse—distribution when there are significant shortages. These detractors of controls judge productivity by the price the middleman or consumer will pay: they seem to forget that the Japanese war alone will cost $60-$70 billion a year—more than twice the entire cost of World War I—and that when there are scarcities, controls must continue. Without controls, labor and capital will move into the highest-paying jobs, not into those which yield the goods most needed for our war and civilian economy. If supply and demand are left to themselves and price control weakened in the midst of a great war, once again price will determine the allocation of resources.

At this juncture we are confronted with a series of crippling amendments to the Emergency Price Control Act (EPCA). Senator Thomas would guarantee *each* processor a profit on all agricultural items over *all* costs; and Senator Taft would allow each manufacturer a profit on *each* item—profits to be at 1941 levels. Senator Wherry succeeds in getting through the Senate a cost-plus provision for the farmers, which the farm interests could not have put over even in peacetime. Substitutes for the Taft and Thomas amendments, the latter fortunately defeated, will probably be pushed in the House. These are dangerous attacks.

Ever since 1941, price control has been a fight against supporters of the cost-plus principle. Yet even in peacetime *every* seller does not recover his costs and every seller does not make a profit on every item he sells. Any price legislation which would guarantee the seller costs-plus-profits, or would—as Senator Taft proposes —permit prices at the level determined by the highest-cost producer or seller, would make nonsense of price control.

Imagine the folly of fixing the price of copper at 20 cents an ounce when most production is at 12 cents or less. In the last war, the price was set at the highest cost, say 25 cents; whereas in this war 12-cent producers receive 12 cents, and higher-cost producers, a higher price. President Roosevelt commented on the resultant saving of $1 billion per year on copper alone. Would Senator Taft, who holds to orthodox theories of public finance, begrudge the government these billions of dollars of savings?

Let us examine various methods employed by opponents of price control to bring about its relaxation.

First, there is the "Let-us-have-a-six-percent-rise-per-year" approach. Ex-Senator Prentiss M. Brown's first mistake as Price Administrator was to announce his support of this position. Senator Taft was quick to offer his support. Brown was soon assailed by hundreds of suppliants, all representing special interests which wanted their share of the six percent. Their demands, if granted, would have added up to a much greater percentage.

A second charge is that the OPA is destroying business enterprise. Time and again, Senator Taft comments on the bankruptcies resulting from its policies. What are the facts? Many small businesses *have* shut up; but the explanation is generally lack of manpower or material. Pricing is a matter of secondary importance. This was all made clear in a Department of Commerce study. Nor do figures for bankruptcies support Senator Taft's position. They are, we should note, at a record low level. On the other hand, while the total number of firms declined greatly in 1941-43, it rose in 1944.

Third, critics of the OPA, and Senator Taft in particular, disparage the OPA's profit policy and claim that it is the OPA's task to fix prices, not profits. These critics have not, however, shown how it is possible to fix prices without influencing profits. Prices are made up of costs and profits. If prices are kept down and costs remain unchanged, then profits suffer. In fact, the Emergency Price Control Act says specifically that profits should be considered; and that prices should be "generally fair and equitable." To the OPA, "generally fair and equitable" means, as a rule, profits for an industry equal to those of 1936-39. This interpretation, however, has been under fire since the Act was passed early in 1942.

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Senator Taft goes even further. He sheds crocodile tears at the damaging effects of the OPA on business profits. What is this shameful record of the OPA? Corporate profits before taxes are up from $5 billion in 1939 to $25 billion in 1944; and, after taxes, from $4 billion in 1939 to $10 billion in 1944. Government agencies attempted to prevent excessive war profits; they have not succeeded. If I were criticizing the OPA, I would criticize it for being too generous rather than not generous enough. Yet I believe in the free-enterprise system, and in the profit motive. Some rise in profits was required in order to get the full coöperation of business, both to shift to war output and to expand. But might it not be argued that a rise of 50-75 percent, instead of 125-150 percent, would have been enough?

The fourth point is the problem of small business. Support of small business frequently disguises special pleading for big business. I am not impressed by Senator Taft's protestations on behalf of small business. Most of us would, of course, like more small business and less big business. That is beside the point. What the Senator from Ohio does not tell us is that under price control small business has done even better than big business. This was made evident by a recent study in the Federal Reserve Bulletin. Here are some interesting figures revealed by another official study:

	Small Companies	*Large Companies*
Prewar rate of return on sales before taxes	3.9	9.6
Ibid., in 1942	13.0	12.8
Return before taxes on investment	8.3	9.5
Ibid., in 1942	55.1	19.6

Does this indicate any need of intervention on behalf of small business to save it from the OPA octopus? Nor does a rise in profits, before taxes, for small companies (assets of less than $10 million) of 320 percent in 1943 over 1936-39, as compared with 235 percent for large companies, indicate any losses—absolute or relative—for small business. And what of the packers, who have such a lachrymose effect on the Senator? From 1936-39 to 1944, their profits before taxes had risen seven times.

Fifth, Senator Taft in a recent radio debate (based on the Senate's minority report on price control) made much of a 10-percent rise in hourly wages as contrasted with a 2-percent increase in prices over the last two years. How could the poor businessman survive when wages were rising five times as fast as prices? This argument is nonsense; and Senator Taft must know it.

A cornerstone of OPA policy is that every rise in cost should not be reflected by a corresponding rise of price. If wage rates rise, selling costs fall; if raw-material costs rise, overhead costs per unit fall. If rises in cost are to be considered, declines must also be considered. Hourly earnings have risen at least twice as much as prices and yet profits of corporations, before taxes, are up three times. Why? Because against the large rise in wages and farm prices is to be put the very large savings in selling, overhead, reduction of numbers employed, the expansion of output, etc., etc. Adherence to the Taft principle of a price rise for every cost rise would spell the grossest kind of inflation.

Yet Taft is critical of the OPA's price policy for reconversion, and would have the OPA set prices for each item at cost, plus the very high 1941 margins. If that is the appropriate pricing policy, why bother to continue the OPA?

What does it all add up to? Price control has been remarkably successful. Whereas in World War I, the total outlays were $30 billion; in this war, they are likely to be $300 billion. Whereas, at the peak of World War I the government took one dollar out of every four for war, at the peak of this war it has required nearly one out of every two. Whereas, in the five years ending June 30, 1919, the rise in deposits was 80 percent, or $16 billion, the rise in World War II for the five years ending in December, 1944, was $46 billion, or around 80 percent. (The rise for adjusted demand deposits—really money—was much larger.) Yet in 1914-19, the rise of prices was about three times as great as in 1939-44. Many will say that the index number understates the rise of prices. Undoubtedly it does; but this was also true in World War I. Senator Taft and others comment on the adverse effects of price control on production. Let us note that in World War I the rise of industrial prices was, in percentages, three times as great as the expansion of output; in World War II the rise in production was six times that of prices. By this criterion, our record has been 18 times as good as it was last time, though a comparison of price rises and income expansions in the two wars does not yield quite so favorable a result for World War II.

A good job has been done, first by the professors, and now by the businessmen in control. The latter in particular deserve credit, for it is much more difficult for them to say no to their former business friends and associates than it is for the professors to do so. And they have said it with admirable consistency. No wonder Taft, in a recent debate on the air, said that the present regime was even worse than that of Leon Henderson.

The issue is, in fact, whether the American public will quit on the last lap. I hope not. The scarcity of meat is due to reduced production and increased demands of the military, not to price control. For how can anyone say that price control accounts for significant scarcities, in the light of the unprecedented expansion of output and profits? I hope that the American people will not let a small minority of businessmen

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induce Congress to take the lid off price control. I hope they will convince the House that the vicious Wherry amendment should be repudiated.

The next year is the critical one. Prices will not rise by 100 percent every three days, as recently happened in Greece; but if we remove the safeguards, we may well have a rise of 25 percent in one year, and the rise will be cumulative. Millions of people in relatively fixed income groups are suffering already. Millions living on fixed incomes of $2,000-$5,000 per year are now getting little more than 50 percent as much as in 1939 because of the rise in prices and taxes.

Do not be misled by Senator Taft's academic and disarming approach and his professed interest in price control. His cost-plus, profits-on-every-item, profits-for-every-businessman, prices-on-the-basis-of-highest-costs approach is the very negation of price control.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

The Central Valley Project

Lying close to the snow-capped Sierra Nevadas on the east, and separated from the Pacific Ocean by the Coast Range on the west, and extending north and south for 450 miles, lies an area the size of the Tennessee Valley, known as the Great Central Valley of California.

The Sacramento River, running south, drains the northern third of the area, which gets two-thirds of the total rainfall. It is a tricky river, full of roaring yellow water at flood season when the heavy snows of the High Sierras melt and deluge the rich bottom lands along its course, pouring millions of acre-feet of waste water into the ocean. During the long rainless summer the river becomes a sluggish stream, so low that river steamers plying between San Francisco and the delta towns cannot go beyond Sacramento in their quest for cargo.

The San Joaquin River, running north, drains the southern two-thirds of the Great Central Valley, which gets but one-third of the total rainfall. Because of the low rainfall, thousands of rich acres lie idle in the southern end of this "Long Valley," made famous by John Steinbeck and the Oakies.

Most of the farmers in the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley pump part or all of their irrigation water from wells which draw from an underground reservoir, fed by seepage from the discharge of local streams. During the long dry cycle which began about 1920, more water was pumped out of this reservoir than was returned to it. As a result, the level of the ground water dropped at an alarming rate. Hundreds of wells went dry and had to be deepened, and, as the wells went down, the cost of pumping went up and foreclosures followed. Out of this dramatic crisis came the statewide vote of the people of California approving the Central Valley Project in 1933. (Incidentally, a wet cycle, beginning in 1937, has removed immediate fears. The level of ground water has partially recovered and the area under pump irrigation has been appreciably increased. This, of course, will make the next drought more damaging than ever unless water is imported from some outside source, which is what the project is designed to do.)

Another damaging effect of the drought occurred in the delta. During the dry summer months, when the normally reduced flow of the river is further curtailed by upstream irrigation, salt water from the ocean has been detected in delta channels almost as far inland as Sacramento. This encroachment endangered the continued productivity of delta lands, which are among the richest in the state. Elaborate plans were once considered for building a dam across Carquinez Straits, where the river enters Suisun Bay to prevent this invasion. But the simple device of maintaining a flow of fresh water from the Shasta Reservoir during the dry months builds up a fresh-water barrier that effectively keeps the salt water in the bay where it belongs.

The engineering features of the Central Valley Project begin with the spectacular Shasta Dam. This is the highest overflow dam in the world—10 feet higher than Grand Coulee in eastern Washington and more than four times as high as Dnieperstroy. In point of volume, Shasta is dramatic, too. It contains 6,230,000 cubic yards of material, as compared to 968,000 in Dnieperstroy, and contains 40 percent more concrete than Boulder Dam. A secondary dam, known as Keswick, is located a short distance downstream from Shasta. It increases the total output of power. When all the generators are installed, the Shasta and Keswick Dams together will yield 2,158 million kilowatt hours, as compared to 2,500 million at Dnieperstroy.

Moving down the river from Shasta and Keswick, the next feature of the project is the Delta Cross Channel, not yet started. This canal will divert water from the Sacramento, carry it around the delta and empty it into the lower San Joaquin. Part of it will flow down the San Joaquin River channel and will be diverted into the Contra Costa Canal to serve towns, industrial plants and farm lands in Contra Costa County. The balance will be lifted 200 feet, by a series of large pumps, and discharged into the Delta-Mendota Canal, through which it will flow by gravity about halfway up the San Joaquin Valley. At the town of Mendota it will be emptied back into the San Joaquin to supply existing irrigation systems which, in the past, have used this river's normal flow. Thus nature's maladjustment is

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to be remedied; one river will be robbed of its surplus water, and this will be made to "run up hill" so that it can run down again as a substitute for the normal flow of the other river.

Next, the Friant Dam, located on the upper part of this same San Joaquin River, is designed to store flood waters at a level high enough to permit them to flow by gravity through the Friant-Kern Canal into the area of insufficient rainfall—the place where the wells went dry. The Madera Canal, running north from the Friant Dam, will supply water for the irrigation of lands in Madera County.

This completes the presently approved project. The various features are illustrated in the accompanying map. The three dams are completed. Two of the eight power units have been installed at Shasta and are now in operation. Two small canals have been built—the Contra Costa and a portion of the Madera Canal. The main canals and pumping plants have not been started. The present estimated cost of the completed project exceeds $325 million.

The presently approved project, however, is just the beginning. Other dams, other canals and other power plants will be built on the numerous tributaries of the Sacramento and San Joaquin as demand for land, water and power warrant expansion. The finally completed project may eventually cost more than a billion dollars. As years pass by, new construction may bring more new land under irrigation in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys than the total area of land now under irrigation in the entire state. The hydroelectric-power possibilities are also striking. The output at Shasta and Keswick represents but a fraction of the potential resources of the completed CVP.

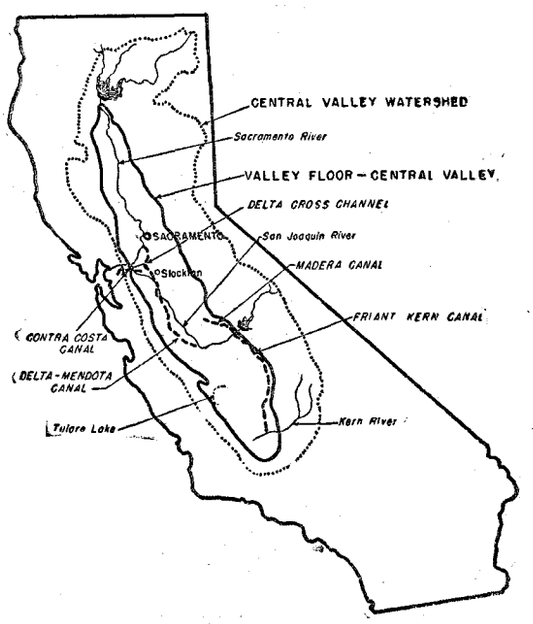
The physical features of the CVP are but a means to an end. The end is the development of a prosperous and permanent civilization. The outcome of the project, in terms of social and economic values, depends primarily upon the policies governing the control of the two main sources of project income: land and hydroelectric power. Boiled down to essentials, the conflict of interests in the CVP centers around these two questions: Who is to control these two sources of project income? Who is to pay the costs?

This issue is complicated by the fact that the Corps of Engineers has entered the field through the Flood Control Act of 1944, which authorizes the expenditure of $115 million in California. This is but a fraction of the proposed flood-control program, which calls for an ultimate expenditure of $450 million. The policies of the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are in conflict, as is also their territorial jurisdiction. The Bureau stresses the conservation of water for use in irrigation and power development on a self-liquidating basis. The Army stresses flood control financed by free grants of federal money covering construction costs, except for small token payments.

Who would oppose Santa Claus? Quite naturally the liberal provisions of the Flood Control Act appealed to the large landowners who came to the support of the Army Engineers in the controversy which developed in the state between those who favored the Bureau and those who favored the Army. The grant policy of the Engineers proved to be infectious. Large landowners not only supported the Act, but had a companion measure introduced in the state senate, known as the Crittenden bill, providing for a state grant of the token payment required by the Army. This bill has been passed by both the senate and the assembly and is now waiting the Governor's approval or veto.

This type of pork-barrel legislation is difficult to oppose. On the face of it, it appears that different sections are getting free handouts of state and federal money. In reality, however, all that happens is that taxes, which should be paid by landowners who benefit by the development, are passed on to the people of the state in the form of income and sales taxes. A burden is thus unjustly placed on the general taxpayer while the privileged position of the large landowners is further strengthened.

Intense opposition developed among labor forces and sportsmen over the plan of the Army Engineers to construct the Table Mountain Dam on the Sacramento River at a point which would seriously curtail the salmon run and effectively destroy an important and profitable industry. The poor fish were completely forgotten by the Army. The CIO, whose members would be thrown out of work if the salmon fisheries were destroyed, coöperated with the State Fish and Game Commission and with the Biological Survey in employing specialists to prepare a report on the dam. This report showed that the costs greatly exceeded the benefits and that the building of the dam could not possibly be justified.



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The expenditure of federal money on the CVP was originally approved on the basis of the "general-welfare" clause of the United States Constitution. The project is being financed by public grants and interest-free money. This can be justified only on the premise that benefits will be widely distributed to the people. If these benefits are monopolized by a relatively small number of people, the intent of the Central Valley Project Act will not be carried out.

Monopoly power interests are seeking to destroy established public policy by substituting private for public power ownership and distribution. Also, large landowning groups are trying to monopolize the land and the water and to avoid the repayment of project costs. They are trying to do this, first, by supporting the Army as against the Bureau, and second, by advocating the elimination of the rules and regulations of the reclamation law which limit the acreage one family may own. They also advocate eliminating the anti-speculation features of this law which prohibit selling land in excess of the family farm at exorbitant prices.

If these interests at Sacramento and Washington succeed in their attempts to break down existing public policies which call for a wide distribution of benefits, much of the cost of the project, which was intended to be repaid from power and land income, will become a public burden on the general taxpayer. Consumers of power will pay a heavy and wholly unnecessary toll to private interests. Those seeking family farms will either not be able to get them at all, or will have to pay speculative prices which will make it impossible for them to finance the farm out of land income. These landless people readily become the itinerant laborers on the large mechanized farms—more than $13 million was spent on relief in Kern, Tulare and Madera Counties as late as 1939, largely in taking care of landless people.

These issues will be settled, one way or another, in the near future. What is done at Sacramento and Washington during the next year or two will shape the future of the CVP for some time to come.

WALTER E. PACKARD

This is the first of three articles on the Central Valley Project. The second will discuss attempts by big landowning interests to sabotage the program. – THE EDITORS

San Francisco Finale

IN THE 63 DAYS at San Francisco, the conference of the United Nations ran through the full cycle. The delegates who began their work here by seating the Argentine fascists, are ending their labors by belaboring and blacklisting the Spanish fascists. But the Shakespearean axiom about evil continuing and good being interred with the bones seems to be running true. The resounding rebuke to the Spanish Caudillo may be forgotten with the *sine-die* adjournment. But each time the roll is called in San Francisco, the name of Argentina, with superb alphabetical irony, heads all the rest. Its bold inscription on the final instrument will set the world wondering about the logic of a war generation which could blacklist Franco and fraternize with Farrell and Perón.

There was in the Franco indictment, however, something of a public penance for sin discovered and openly acknowledged. Apparently there could be no retreat from the Argentina decisions; so the conference resorted to public flagellation to atone for its sins. That certainly was the suggestion left by the 30-second speech in which Assistant Secretary of State James Clement Dunn finally disowned the Spanish dictator whom he had not found so abhorrent on previous occasions.

The extremes of the Spanish and Argentine policies are typical of the conference, which at this writing is rushing toward adjournment. Between those extremes, the events on each of the days since the hopeful beginning on April 25 were nicely balanced between high idealism and brutal realism. The idealism emerged time and again in the technical committees, in the private and public utterances, in the only partially realized attempts to write a final end to colonialism and to construct a social and economic Magna Carta for the world. But the framers of the San Francisco charter, many of them still in the uniforms of history's bloodiest war, were too close to the present catastrophe to chance idealism on a complete gamble. The brutal realities of war were too close at hand. Power is still the rule in the world; it still was the rule at the Veterans' Memorial Building and the San Francisco Opera House.

The most important achievement here, in the appraisal of a generation less close to war, may well be that the United Nations have provided a device whereby the world reliance on power and the might of the great powers for protection of peace through a sort of quadrilateral Pax Romana can gradually be converted into peace protection by true collective security. The foundation of United Nations peace before and after this meeting was contingent on the unanimity of the so-called Big Five. In the machinery now emerging, there is ample opportunity for this single protective device to be multiplied in the processes of the Security Council and the Assembly.

But pending the gradual development of true and

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effective collective security, the small powers of the world have chosen to stake their futures and their fortunes on the good faith of the great powers. Most of those who held back gave hostages by refusing to go in the opposite direction. They abstained from voting. When the final showdown came on the power-laden veto rights of the five major powers, only Colombia and Cuba were audacious enough to vote "no."

There was no confusing of issues on that showdown. In committee the Earl of Halifax had put the issue as bluntly as ideas can be expressed. It was plainly, in the great-power view, "Crimea or Chaos." Most of the world currently is too intimately acquainted with chaos to debate long over such an issue. Still, it was difficult for many lesser nations to grant the bestowal of collective power—some of them remembered Munich, others remembered American fondling of Spanish fascism. Presumably by chance, Roy Howard's San Francisco *News* pointed up the fears a few days after the veto showdown. Illustrating a "diary" of the late Italian Foreign Minister, Ciano, it portrayed a photograph of Mussolini and Ciano standing on either side of two British figures—the late Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax. It was with a start that some people here recollected that the Lord Halifax so intimately portrayed with the Fascists of a dead era is also the Earl of Halifax who put the "Crimea or Chaos" alternative. Public penance, it appeared, was not confined to the American State Department.

In following the lead of the great powers, the 50 nations represented here developed an under-emphasized and historically significant fact—the day of geographical blocs in world relationships seems to be fading. Russia alone among the great powers was able to maintain unanimity in the nations aligned completely with her viewpoint. But it is questionable whether the votes of two constituent Soviet republics, plus perhaps Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and sometimes Norway, add up to a "bloc" in a world where the teller must total 50 or more votes.

The British Commonwealth saw its "empire bloc" disintegrate under the pressures of strong-minded dominion leaders. It could not hold its six votes in line on the vital veto decision—when Australia and New Zealand abstained after leading the revolt. Four of the six empire votes went in the affirmative—the United Kingdom, India, Canada and the Union of South Africa. But in Western Europe, where British interests and influence are supposed to be dominant, both Belgium and the Netherlands forgot they were in the British orbit and abstained, after participating actively in the opposition.

The Rockefeller-Warren organization in the Department of State, which scraped up the Argentine appeasement fee as the price of Latin American collaboration with State Department demands for great-power veto rights, saw their bloc crumple. Of the 20 Latin American republics, only seven voted with the United States. Cuba and Colombia presented a firm "no" and nine ducked the issue by abstaining. Haiti and Ecuador solved the ancient problem of decision by conveniently being absent.

It was a decidedly unimpressive showing for the Latin American experts who had supervised the expenditure of words and money among the republics south of the Rio Grande. Argentina had been supposed to be in "line"—an important fact since under the inexorability of the alphabet and roll calls, she is at the head of any list. When the time of decision came, Argentina abstained; and Latin appeasement went totally bankrupt. Whatever may be his Dun and Bradstreet rating, Rockefeller and his counsel, Avra Warren, are sadly in need of a political 77-B as a result of the 63 days of San Francisco.

Still, the fact that the Latin bloc went "bust," as did the British bloc, is a hopeful sign that a new era may not be far off. A generation ago, it might not have been possible for nations in close proximity to great powers, and therefore in their orbit, to have exercised complete independence of decision. In a world where peace is maintained by a Security Council, an Assembly and an International Court of Justice, it is important that nations be governed in their decisions by their own interpretations of the universal concept of justice, equity and law. While the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China, as the Big Five, maintain peace on the precarious knife-edge of their unanimity, it is well for them to know that the other nations of the world are making judgments and that they will be held to ultimate account before the moral bar of the opinion of the men and women who people this world.

In an era of decisions made with guns, tanks and super-bombers, it is difficult to concede the efficacy of this moral pressure. But it is there. France, of the Big Five, was the first to feel it here in San Francisco when the republic of de Gaulle was pilloried for its aggression in Lebanon by the chief of the Egyptian delegation, H. E. Abdul Hamid Pasha Badawi. The moral effect was sufficient so to confuse the parliamentarily impeccable French that they finally voted against themselves for a permanent seat on the World Security Council.

If such an effect can be achieved by a speech before a parliament of the world, the late Mr. Willkie may have had something in his argument that this is "one world." The uneasy international intimacy created by modern communications and the range of super-bombers finally may capitalize or italicize the letters in the phrase "moral force of world peoples."

And San Francisco, it now seems, has provided a stentorian megaphone for the voice of the peoples who are so desperately weary of war and so desperately desire security.

San Francisco THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

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The Canadian Elections

LIBERAL AND RADICAL AMERICANS should take a careful look at Canada's election results. In Ontario, both in the provincial election of June 4 and the federal election one week later, the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation took a bad beating, in spite of the fact that this is the most highly industrialized province and the area most influenced by the Eastern United States. This poor showing of the CCF can be traced to several causes: a violent, almost hysterical anti-CCF advertising campaign; the CCF feud with the Labor Progressive (ex-Communist) Party and its union supporters; and finally to certain weaknesses within the CCF itself. The reasons for its defeat deserve careful study.

In Ontario the CCF, which held 32 out of 90 seats at dissolution, now holds only 7 or 8, the final total depending on the soldier vote, which thus far favors the CCF candidates; the Progressive Conservatives, who had constituted a minority government after the provincial campaign in 1943, have been returned with a tremendous majority. Prime Minister King's Liberal government was returned in the federal contest, although its majority was decreased; the Progressive Conservatives, whose federal strength is mainly centered in Ontario, increased their membership and remain the largest opposition group. While the CCF increased its federal representation from 10 to nearly 30 seats, its claim to status as a strong national party suffered a blow, since all but one of its members were elected in Western Canada constituencies.

However, the post-election prospects of the CCF are not completely gloomy. In Ontario defeat came mainly as a result of the heavy opposition vote brought out by the scare campaign, and while the CCF lost support, it was by no means wiped out; there is an opportunity to build further strength, utilizing the lessons learned in these campaigns. Meanwhile, in the federal election CCF voters constituted about 15 percent of the total and more than half the number supporting the Progressive Conservatives. Above all other aspects of the campaigns, the very violence of the anti-socialist propaganda and the amount of money spent by reactionary groups were a tribute both to the immediate and the potential strength of the CCF.

This propaganda was unusually dirty and dishonest. The CCF, formerly denounced as communist, was equated with state socialism, which in turn was equated with Nazism and fascism, and finally with dictatorship and concentration camps. Newspapers naturally supported their own party as an alternative, but the reactionary advertising campaign was much more inclusive: defeat of the CCF was the only matter of importance, and almost any anti-CCF vote became acceptable for this purpose. There were huge quantities of throw-away leaflets and large advertisements in the newspapers and magazines; quotes of CCF members and supporters, usually taken out of context and frequently given a new meaning, were a specialty, as well as quotes from as far back as Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill (*circa* 1900) warning against the dangers of socialism.

During the Ontario campaign the CCF leader, E. B. Jolliffe, accused Premier Drew and his Attorney General of constituting a special branch of the provincial police to prepare dossiers of political opponents. In addition, Jolliffe claimed that information obtained in this manner was used in anti-CCF propaganda issued by private groups and individuals. The charges resulted in denials, counter-accusations and threats of libel suits by both sides. A Royal Commission, appointed by Premier Drew, is to examine these charges later this month, and Drew has promised to resign if anything is proved by the CCF. The political results of this controversy appear to have been bad for the CCF rather than for the Progressive Conservatives; the sudden, violent debate not only enlivened the last few days of the campaign, it also stirred a number of apathetic voters into using their franchise—and they seem to have voted with the government in most cases.

The Labor Progressive Party had a hand in the CCF defeat as well. Its weekly newspaper, the *Canadian Tribune*, in spite of a much emphasized hatred of all reactionaries, devoted even more space to attacks on the CCF, especially on those CCF-ers who refuse to admit the absolute certainty of a post-Yalta paradise. Any answers to LPP claims are, of course, dubbed "Red-baiting." And while Labor Progressives loudly demand all their own democratic freedoms, they frequently suggest undemocratic censorship and repression of opinion they do not agree with. A number of LPP candidates were entered in both elections; with few exceptions they polled extremely low votes. But they managed to cut into CCF support in several crucial districts in Ontario, thus enabling Progressive Conservatives to win victories. In the strong labor area around Windsor the Labor Progressives, Liberals and United Auto Workers supported candidates against sitting CCF members, in spite of the fact that a Liberal government won an election a few years ago by basing its campaign on an anti-CIO plank. Several large UAW unions in other parts of the province directly denounced this Windsor plan, while other locals refused to support attempts to run these union candidates in other districts. The CCF, which wastes no love on the LPP, tried unsuccessfully to defeat two LPP members from the Toronto area.

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On the whole the federal campaign was cleaner than that in Ontario. There was never any doubt, except in the Progressive Conservative press, of the Liberal Party's victory; the question was whether or not it could obtain a majority. With support from some Independents and Independent-Liberals, King is now certain of being able to form a government. The Liberals again owe much of their success to Quebec Province, but they did better in Ontario than the provincial results seemed to suggest. Their platform was basically: Let us finish the war and handle rehabilitation; we are the only group able to preserve Canadian unity and form a stable government. In spite of its weak points, the record of the King government is good, especially in handling inflation and mobilizing industry for war. The end of the European conflict meant the weakening of Progressive Conservative attacks on draft regulations, although this party attempted to win support with attacks on the arrangements for fighting the war in the Pacific. As the Conservatives are doing in Great Britain, the Liberals emphasized the value for the peace discussions of Premier King's experience and contacts.

In both campaigns the Progressive Conservative Party showed its sterility by emphasizing the manpower question, while most of its reform ideas were forced by the plans of the Liberals and the CCF. In Ontario it became the party of Premier Drew, with his name practically submerging the party name on posters and in advertisements and with the party press building most of the election editorials around this one man. In the federal campaign, advertising centered around the party leader, John Bracken, a former Premier of Manitoba; advertising copy-writers, hailing him as The Farmer, The Worker, The Progressive, etc., descended to the level of second-rate prose poetry, and emphasized a log-cabin birthplace. While the Progressive Conservatives directed their attacks against Quebec, claiming they stood for equality of sacrifice, they managed to support a number of "independents" in that province, in addition to some official candidates. In spite of this obvious attempt, first realized in the last war, to be all things to all voters, the leaders claimed that their platform was the same in every province.

Minor parties fared badly in the federal campaign. The Social Credit Party retained its strength in Alberta, where it forms the provincial government, but elsewhere it made no showing. The isolationist *Bloc Populaire* fizzled in Quebec, as it did in the recent provincial election, electing only two members. And the LPP elected only one member from about seventy candidates, losing one seat in the West.

The fate of the CCF emphasizes the comparative radicalism of Western Canada as contrasted to Ontario and the Maritimes, where English middle-class conservatism has clung longer and more tenaciously than in England herself. In Roman Catholic Quebec, where, in spite of vast problems of poverty and educational backwardness, the appeal must be directed to the mystical belief in land and a separate culture, the chances of a strong radical movement appear to be weak. Many Canadian electors showed a lack of political understanding; objections which might have been registered against the CCF were not the ones used by reaction, and it seems incredible that thousands of voters could so easily be led to confuse wealth-sponsored fascism in Europe with a social-democratic group in Canada. It also means that reaction has learned from the Political Action Committees of the United States and Canada, that it has realized the power of propaganda in the mailbox. The disturbing fact is that most of this propaganda contained glaring examples of misrepresentation and faulty logic; much of it was poorly written and of low intellectual caliber. Mass salesmanship in our era has negated much healthy skepticism.

The CCF made a number of mistakes. Especially in Ontario there appeared to be false confidence among candidates and workers. Internal disputes with pro-LPP members weakened party unity and furnished ammunition to enemies of the Left and Right—if the LPP may correctly be termed a party of the Left. In many constituencies the CCF appears to have run candidates who had no chance of success in an effort to prove the national importance of the party. It would have been wiser to use funds in fewer areas, but the CCF was hampered in this course by its undoubtedly democratic policy of allowing district associations to handle most phases of their own campaigns. Perhaps the greatest CCF error was its belief that voters need only know a good program to vote intelligently: at the present time in Canada the best leftist program remains at the mercy of any propagandist.

Toronto, Can. ROBERT LEIGH WEAVER

British Tories Sling the Mud

"THE CONSERVATIVES won the 1924 election by forging the Red Letter. They won the 1931 election by faking the Post Office savings scare. They won the 1935 election by claiming support of the League and then promptly repudiating it. This time Labor has written its own Red Letter. Laski has done it for them."

That is what a well known journalist said to me this morning. The trouble started when Churchill invited Labor Leader Clement Attlee to the Three Power Conference scheduled to be held in Berlin after the polling, but before the election results are known. Churchill publicly insisted on the need for continuity in foreign policy, but privately he may have welcomed the opportunity for blurring the differences between the parties.

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Laski moved quickly the same evening, telling the press that the Labor Party had not been officially consulted concerning Attlee's attendance, and saying that he would go merely as an observer. Laski promised Labor support for the United Nations Organization, but refused to commit the Labor Party to the details of the foreign policy formed by the Conservative government.

The correspondence between Churchill and Attlee was then published. Churchill had asked Attlee to attend the conference "as friend and counselor." Lord Beaverbrook, Britain's oversized Hearst, had been anxiously searching for an anti-labor scare. This was his first chance. The *Daily Express* began to stress mildly the subtle differences between "observer," "friend" and "counselor." It ballooned the story more every day. Finally, a blurb appeared under the headline "Gauleiter Laski." He was accused of dictating to Attlee, and the electorate was warned that if Labor was returned to office, "Premier" Laski would rule the country.

Just when the excitement was beginning to die down, a new development made the front pages of the *Express* and other Tory newspapers. The story went like this: A Nottingham councillor who attended one of Laski's recent meetings wrote to his local paper of his horror at what Laski had said. "When enumerating the reforms which he wanted to see, he declared 'if we cannot have them by fair means, we shall use violence to obtain them.' "

Laski immediately denied having made such a statement, but the *Express*, unlike the rest of the press, did not publish the denial. Apparently a Mr. Wentworth Day, who was once connected with the *Express*, had put the leading question after an evening's talk. According to Laski, his reply had been: "Changes can be secured here by consent instead of by violence as in other countries." Laski then issued writs of libel against the Nottingham councillor, the Nottingham paper and the *Express*. There the matter stands.

It is difficult to estimate the effect of this scare. Conservative propagandists may hope to frighten the *Lumpen*-proletariat by Churchill's radio declaration that a Socialist government would destroy small savings and install Gestapo methods. They may also hope that the Laski stunt might win them middle-class voters who are sensitive to the threat of party bureaucracy. Laski's foreign-sounding Jewish name may well help the Tories.

On the other hand, the Tory dodges are transparently unscrupulous and many shied away from the party that sanctioned them. Reports from the constituencies suggest that the electorate is more serious-minded than ever before. Political education has been advanced by the hard school of war. Labor candidates have not attended such big and enthusiastic meetings since 1929. This week's Gallup Poll showed 45 percent of the votes for Labor, against 32 percent for the Conservatives and 15 percent for the Liberals. The Gallup Institute hedged on the question whether the Tories could obtain a majority of the seats in Parliament with only a minority of the total number of votes.

But the result is still completely unpredictable. The harm done to Labor by the Laski scare probably outweighs the advantage gained in the radio battle. Apart from Lord Woolton, Tory spokesmen have been outwitted by Labor leaders. Sir Stafford Cripps on Wednesday night, June 20, ended a moving speech by saying that Labor, too, wanted to make Henry Wallace's Century of the Common Man a reality. More Tory scares are to be expected, but how effective they will prove is still in doubt.

London FLEET STREET

This Side of the Truth

(for Llewelyn)

This side of the truth
You may not see, my son,
King of your blue eyes
In the blinding country of youth,
That all is undone,
Under the unminding skies,
Of innocence and guilt
Before you move to make
One gesture of the heart or head,
Is gathered and spilt
Into the winding dark
Like the dust of the dead.

Good and bad, two ways
Of moving about your death
By the grinding sea,
King of your heart in the blind days,
Blow away like breath,
Go crying through you and me
And the souls of all men
Into the innocent
Dark, and the guilty dark, and good
Death, and bad death, and then
In the last element
Fly like the stars' blood,

Like the sun's tears,
Like the moon's seed, rubbish
And fire, the flying rant
Of the sky, king of your six years.
And the wicked wish
Down the beginning of plants
And animals and birds,
Water and light, the earth and sky,
Is cast before you move,
And all your deeds and words,
Each truth, each lie,
Die in unjudging love.

DYLAN THOMAS

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Washington Notes

Congress Discovers the World

EVERY NOW AND THEN a wind starts blowing in Washington and suddenly all the little weathervanes point one way. It is blowing now, off the grass roots, and it is saying that Hank Jones, American, is sick of isolationism and demands that this country play ball with the rest of the world. On all fronts. Quick.

Six months ago it seemed impossible that the House would pass the Bretton Woods plan, 345 to 18. Yet it did. You see, the wind started blowing. The Senate has the same bill now, and is bound to pass it. (Russia is particularly interested in this program for an international credit and monetary system.)

Six months ago chances seemed dubious for the reciprocal-trade-agreements bill giving President Truman further bargaining power to cut tariffs. But the wind started and the bill passed the House, 239 to 153. It blew some more, and the Senate passed it, last week, 54 to 21.

Sometimes you can almost see public opinion working on Congress. It is doing so now. The big San Francisco Conference encouraged people, but it scared them, too. It dramatized the possible rift with Russia. The present mood, aided by some Russian concessions, is to do our damnedest to make the San Francisco agreement work. Maybe we can't get on with Russia, but we are going to try to. The Senate will not ratify the pact as quickly as some people hoped, but I can see no chance of its failing to get the necessary two-thirds vote.

Congress isn't isolationist any longer, but it is hard for it to adjust to the positive side of world coöperation. For example, the great new competition in the open market of ideas. Last week Franco spoke directly to Latin America in a stepped-up propaganda campaign. Figures have just been published here of the millions being spent by foreign countries to tell their story in America. Biggest bill was Britain's. Who can doubt that Russia will try to sell communism to areas under her control? Japan is active as a war measure. Modern science makes the world ether a town hall for competing ideologies. The question is whether America's voice is going to be heard in this war by vacuum tube. With all their faults of omission and commission, the OWI and the Office of Inter-American Affairs have been trying to tell the American story. The House cut a big chunk out of the latter's informational activity, and it stripped the OWI of its funds for European work altogether. It looks now as though the Senate would restore the latter amount, largely because of the howl the army put up. If the OWI doesn't do the work, then we must, say the generals.

The old Dies Committee is now a permanent House fixture. After months of organization behind closed doors it has just started its first big public investigation. Out of curiosity I went to it. A small room, heavily clouded with smoke and suspicion. A row of congressmen, alike as frogs, all with cigars hanging from mouth corners, waiting to be shocked. Questions to an OPA official by ponderous, bulky Ernie Adamson of Pittsburgh, committee counsel and current successor to notorious Red-baiter J. B. Matthews. An immediate sense of queer, self-conscious suspense, and a weighing of trifles, like a reader at the beginning of a detective story. The plot is, it appears, that the OPA scriptwriter, Tex Weiner, once said he had an LL.B. degree when he hadn't and that he has been telling tenants over the radio on OPA time that they can collect triple damages from rent-gouging landlords. Pretty subversive.

I read one of Weiner's scripts afterwards and if it is communism, then so is the New York *Herald Tribune*. I'm afraid the committee, minus Dies, is going to be silly without being sensational. Rather terrifying to think that as a permanent standing committee it will roll on forever.

The Mikado, curiously enough, is about the only man in Japan with enough prestige to surrender. His brother, Prince Chichi, is under army detention because he apparently opposed the war. America's program is frankly directed at trying to get a surrender without frontal assault, for high Japanese know they are licked; but the time limit for hopes in that respect is about over. A submarine noose is being put around Japan and it will be pulled tighter and tighter; at the same time something in bombing beyond anything yet known is being prepared, with Japan particularly vulnerable because her industry is concentrated in a 300-by-50-mile strip, rather than dispersed, as in Germany. After the present siege stage will come, probably, the direct assault. Supply plans are being laid for a two-year war, but officials believe it may take only half that time if the proposed bombing does what is expected of it.

Notes.—The Red Cross is having difficulty with the navy in the Pacific; it has never been sold on the Red Cross as the army has, and is now charged by high Red Cross officials with holding back recreational facilities for the army by its control of islands and communications. . . . House Democrats from New York and Philadelphia take week-ends at home, and most have profitable law jobs besides their $10,000 congressional salaries; twice now their absence has brought GOP victory, first the OWI appropriation cut, and a fortnight later the tentative disruption of the OPA; both votes came late Friday when the Tammany delegation had gone home. . . . Washington believes Eisenhower when he says he's not in politics; he's a Republican, though, and the GOP may need him. . . . Incidentally, Stassen has emerged from San Francisco with greatly enhanced prestige: returning Washington correspondents all hail his ability. . . . Truman's proposal to make the presidential succession run through the Speaker's office will be rejected; the Speaker is too apt to be a rival party from the deceased President and Vice President, and most speakers are amiable, small-minded men. . . . The oil lobby is moving heaven and earth to forestall the Ickes-Biddle court test of title to tide-water oil, by rushing an advance resolution through Congress giving rights to the states rather than to the federal government; the insurance lobby tried the same trick last year, but Senator O'Mahoney blocked it. He may block this drive, too. . . . Many are wondering how liberal Joe Ball was willing to

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help sponsor the so-called "industrial peace" bill which includes that wormy old chestnut, compulsory arbitration; Lister Hill knew enough to drop out of the former B2H2 combination on this issue. . . . The country is in for a rash of opinion magazines: Luce, Marshall Field and half a dozen other individuals and groups are contemplating new ones. . . . Senate confirmation of Wickard as 10-year head of the REA was inevitable, but it is a political consolation prize for an unsuccessful Secretary of Agriculture, and bodes no good for one of Roosevelt's great agencies.

Washington T. R. B.

International Notes

Poland, 1939-41

ADOLF FOLKMANN is a remarkable Jew. He is an even more remarkable Pole. For he is a Pole with apparently no axe to grind. His story, as retold by Stefan Szende (*The Promise Hitler Kept.* New York: Roy Publishers. 281 pages. $2.75), is primarily a detailed eye-witness report on the extermination of approximately five million Polish and other European Jews in the German Government-General. But he also describes conditions in East Poland during the Russian occupation from 1939 to 1941. His report seems impartial and objective.

To most of the citizens of Lwow, with the Germans already fighting in the suburbs of their city, the arrival of the Russians was a godsend. "We've come to liberate you," a Russian soldier said amiably, and the citizens of Lwow, although aloof at first, were willing to coöperate. Tens of thousands of Polish middle-class citizens and officials fled to the German lines or sought to escape to Hungary and Rumania, but the overwhelming majority stayed, and "the impression was general amongst the population that their new rulers were friendly and obliging, and that there was little to fear from them."

The Russians did everything they could to overcome years of anti-Soviet propaganda which had depicted the Bolshevists as cruel and brutal. Polish soldiers, after having been disarmed, were allowed to go free, though in other parts of East Poland they were treated as prisoners of war. But since many had no roof over their heads, nothing to eat and no resources, they made no serious objection. The Russians distributed food rapidly and efficiently, and there was no discrimination. Workers' councils were set up and a civilian militia organized, but former Communists were not favored. The Russian soldiers were anxious to convince the people of the Soviet paradise, but equally anxious to buy such Western luxuries as watches and fountain pens. No price was too high. Within a few weeks the Russians put literally millions of books on the market. Many workers revised their ideas about communism.

More practical measures included minimum wages for unskilled workers, with wages for skilled labor proportionately higher. The socialization of industry and the land was announced. Executives were allowed to remain with their firms, though Russians assumed over-all control. Soon unemployment was liquidated and factories were working three shifts. No coercive measures were used against peasants and no requisitions were made in spite of their initial reluctance to supply the city with food. The Soviet authorities believed that the distrust of Russian money could best be overcome by providing goods to buy.

Several thousand workers were sent to Russia to work in the Donets Basin. Homeless, "very few of them objected violently to the measures taken by the Soviet authorities. Although, of course, none of them particularly wanted to leave their own country and go elsewhere to work, the great majority acquiesced without resistance and without even protest. There seemed no other way out for them." In organizing these labor transports, the Russians showed themselves reasonable and accommodating. Those who could prove they had relatives in or near Lwow, or had a prospect of getting work soon, were exempt from deportation. Neither violence nor brutality was used.

But political arrests were made. Most of those arrested belonged to the well-to-do classes or were leading officials or people known to have carried out anti-Soviet activity before the occupation and after. Priests were arrested only in exceptional cases. The majority of Ukrainians coöperated; only the intellectual and extremist nationalists went into hiding or organized resistance. Those arrested were deported. Ex-officers of the Polish army were required to report to the NKVD for security reasons. Those who refused to comply were deported to Russia for forced labor. Under the Russo-German agreement of November 3, 1939, an exchange of population was effected. Applications came not only from Germans in the Russian zone but also from many Poles and Ukrainians and even Jews. When the lists were submitted to the Germans, they refused to accept Jews. Most of the Jews were then arrested by the Russians as unreliable and deported to Russia. "Looking back," Folkmann reminds us, "one can say now that this seemingly harsh measure of the Soviet authorities saved their lives, even if it caused them temporary suffering, as it undoubtedly did. Had they been successful in their applications to go to German-occupied Poland, they would certainly not be alive today."

Russian working conditions were introduced in all factories. Unions were organized after members had been carefully selected. Evening courses in technical matters, economics, bookkeeping and Marxism were arranged. Factory meetings discussed questions relating to production, but politics was never discussed. "It was not long before everyone learned that there was a strange but very definite biological law in the Soviet Union: 'Whoever goes in for politics dies of it before long.' No one wanted to die," comments Folkmann. Discipline was introduced in factories. Fines were imposed on late-comers and absentees. Repetition resulted in imprisonment for terms of from three to six months. Unemployed workers were deported. But in spite of these harsh measures, Folkmann reports, "when news came from German-occupied parts of Poland, the inhabitants of Lwow would once again congratulate themselves on living under the Soviet Star rather than the *Hakenkreuz*. . . . In the German-occupied Government-General Poles were serfs; in Russian-occupied Poland all the inhabitants were Soviet citizens."

But when, in June, 1941, the German attack on Russia became a matter of days, the result of the plebiscite of

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1939—in which 97 to 98 percent of the people had voted for incorporation into the Soviet Union—became doubtful. Thousands of persons, mainly Ukrainian nationalists, were arrested by the NKVD and deported. On June 22, when the Germans struck, "on the streets one could see Poles excitedly discussing the possibility of a resurrected Poland, free and independent, with German assistance and under German protection. They kept their illusions to the last." But "in the factories the workers demonstrated in favor of defending the Soviet Union. This was quite spontaneous and not done by command from above."

E. L. P.

The Bandwagon

Mr. Kane [president of the Pittsburgh Real Estate Board] said that . . . a rent increase would be an anti-inflation measure by providing a gradual absorption of part of the current "spending surplus accumulated by wage-earners." – *From the Pittsburgh* Post-Gazette.

Many young men who were rejected by the armed forces were physically unfit. Had these boys had dancing training while young they would have been physically fit. – *From a circular,* Dancing Hi-Lights, *published by the Morris Studios of Dancing, Long Beach, California.*

The government of General Edelmiro Farrell today lifted closures ordered against newspapers and other publications suspended in recent months for "promoting intranquillity among the people," and voided limitations imposed on journalists for similar cause. The measure, however, did not apply to publications which had been suspended for what the government had called dissemination of social theories adverse to the Argentine Constitution.

The announcement came a short time after the Argentine Federation of Journalists disclosed abandonment of plans to celebrate annual "Journalists' Day" tomorrow. – *AP dispatch from Buenos Aires.*

Obstacle Race

Essays [on "How to Build a Career Service in the Department of Public Welfare," open to all employees below the rank of assistant superintendent] should not overstress obvious factors that are already known, such as low salaries, political interference, and the like, but should discover less apparent but perhaps equally important obstacles to a real career service. – *From the* Welfare Bulletin, *the official publication of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare.*

Shoot If You Must

The National Flag Code Committee protested today to President Truman against the proposal that the Iwo Jima flag-raising be reproduced on a postage stamp, saying it didn't like the prospect of the United States flag "being licked behind its back, pounded onto envelopes, smeared by and run through canceling machines."

The committee's chairman, Gridley Adams, wrote the President that if the picture were on a stamp, the flag would be exposed to "the very contamination the Huns and Japs set their hearts upon doing." – *AP dispatch to the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

How to Work for Racial Equality

SIR: This faithful reader feels there is something missing in the *New Republic's* campaign for racial equality. No doubt you are tired of being told that it will do no good and may do harm. I don't advance that objection.

What troubles me is that no concrete suggestions are offered as to what can be done about it other than giving the Negro the vote by removing the poll tax. I favor giving the Negro the vote, although I don't see how it will better his status to any appreciable degree in the South or anywhere else.

The Negro wants more than the dubious privilege of voting for candidates who will view him with contempt regardless of the outcome of the election, and as one who was born and reared in the South, I know that ways will be found there to nullify his franchise.

But I crave to know just what you recommend as a course of action for white families. I twice read Lillian Smith's lamentation on the Negro's wrongs without discovering any clue as to what she thinks can be done to change the attitude of whites—which is the real and unsurmountable barrier—or what she herself is doing about it.

Does Lillian Smith practise social equality with the Negroes? Does she invite Negroes into her home and exchange social visits with them? Knowing the South as I do, I very much doubt it. If she does, then I will wager a month's pay that her social contacts are virtually all with the Negroes.

I hope to see the scolding subside into a discussion of specific and practical steps which the individual white man may take to help usher in an era of race equality.

San Diego, Calif. EDMUND RUCKER

SIR: In answer to Edmund Rucker's fretful and nervous letter, I wish to suggest that there are several jobs for white people to do wherever they may live.

1. (a) Gain more insight into what the problem basically is. The problem is basically one concerning the white man and his need to feel superior to other human beings. Our focus should be shifted from the "Negro problem" and fixed squarely on the problem of the white man and his feeling about skin color. (b) We need to understand the great injury that the philosophy and practice of segregation inflict upon white children as well as upon colored children. To hate tears up the mind and heart as surely as to be hated. To segregate is as injurious to character growth as to be segregated. The white child who lives in a segregated culture is as warped and crippled in his emotional growth as is the colored child. When the imaginations of white people are stirred, when they become aroused to the great injury being done to their own children, they will have a more profound motivation for changing our segregated way of life than

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simply that of sporadically doing a "good deed" for the Negro.

2. Racial hate and prejudice have dug deep chasms. These chasms can be filled only by each individual going to the edge of them and dumping into those terrifying depths his personal need to hate, his need to feel superior to other human beings, his arrogance. Negroes will have to do a powerful lot of dumping also. Negroes will have to discard their suspicions of whites, *their* need to hate other people, *their* need to feel persecuted. There is no other way, in my opinion, to fill the chasms. This is the hardest job a human being can undertake, and the easiest. No mass movement, no laws, can cleanse our hearts and minds of their destructive impulses. Insight, understanding, can motivate us; a stirring of our warm feelings for others can help. But nobody can do this job for us. The job of chasm-filling is each man's job.

3. But bridges can be built across these chasms and groups of people can build them. I would like to suggest a few of these bridges: (a) We can work for a national and permanent FEPC. We can work also for state FEPC's. We can work for laws, all kinds of laws, that will make discrimination in jobs and wages illegal. (b) We can work, wherever we are, to help the South get rid [1] of the poll tax and [2] of the white primary. (c)We can work for justice in the courts for all people whether they live in California or Georgia or New York or Russia or China. (d) We can work to promote public works, the TVA and similar projects. In other words, we can each do our part to get those 60 million jobs going. We need them in this country. They will be a fine insurance against riots, against racial and religious violence, against labor-industry fights. (e) We can work for federal aid in education. (f) We can join some kind of interracial group and make friends with people of other colors and religions and nationalities. This is important. It is important for us to stop talking about people being problems and begin to make people our friends. When a "problem" child is made a friend he ceases to be a "problem." This is almost an axiom in child-guidance work. When a man is a friend, it is hard to pin a race theory on him. Educated Negroes and educated whites are not often friends, and this gap in understanding must somehow be bridged. (g) We can sit by people of other color whenever it is possible to do so. We should protect them against insult if we are the kind of people who can keep our voices quiet and retain our sympathy for all concerned while "protecting." (h) And there is no one so situated that he cannot refrain from telling race jokes and using derogatory names. Letters commending people who are doing a decent, good job ean be written. Perhaps Mr. Rucker might try a few of this kind for a change.

Now concerning the somewhat personal questions which Mr. Rucker asked your publication about me and my life in the South, Mr. Rucker perhaps does not know what it means to live day and night on the "firing line." If he did, he would no more ask me to advertise what I do and what I don't do than he would ask General MacArthur to disclose his next week's strategy. You see, I do not know whether Mr. Rucker is a friend of Gene Talmadge's or of other white supremacists who would like nothing better than to have exactly the information in their hands that Mr. Rucker asked for.

I think perhaps there are too many querulous people like Mr. Rucker asking why "somebody doesn't do something." It is my experience that people "on the job" themselves do not ask that question; people busy day and night working hard on this heart-breaking, nerve-wracking problem of improving race relations don't have time for this kind of talk. It is a question always asked by the folks on the side lines, looking on, waiting, always waiting for "somebody to do something" instead of rolling up their sleeves and doing a little of it themselves. The things to do that I have listed could keep Mr. Rucker busy for quite a while, if he wants to help with this job.

Clayton, Ga. LILLIAN SMITH

A Yugoslav on Trieste

SIR: The Yugoslavs settled peacefully in the devastated northern and central provinces of the Balkan peninsula in the seventh century, after their chiefs had entered into an agreement with Emperor Herakleios to protect the northern frontier of Byzantium. Carantania, the first Yugoslav state, which endured from the sixth to the ninth century, included all inhabited Slovene lands of Yugoslavia, northern Italy and Venice, most of present-day Austria, part of Bavaria, Tyrol and western sections of present-day Hungary. In 1809, Napoleon united the provinces of Dalmatia and Istria, including Trieste, Gorizia, Carinthia, Carniola and part of Croatia and Dubrovnik, into the Yugoslav kingdom of Illyria, of which the capital was Ljubjana. He merged the Yugoslavs into one administration with complete autonomy, in order to gain their loyal support.

The word "Trieste," early English "Triest," in Slovene "Trst," is derived from the Slovene root, "trs," meaning reed, and the city is named after the reeds which grow there. One cannot find any Italian root from which the word "Trieste" could be derived. Trieste was founded, settled and named by the early Slovenes. Trieste cannot be separated from Yugoslavia like Quebec from Canada. The French-Canadians carry on their trade, commerce and education in the French language. Italian is the commercial language of Trieste, and Slovene the language in the home. The Slovenes of Trieste and its environs should not be deprived of their national existence simply because they learned the Italian language.

Trieste and Istria have been under Fascist rule for a generation and have undergone a systematic program of Italianization. Italian colonists were moved in and the Slovenes were ousted from their homes. Slovene schools were prohibited and their books burned. People were imprisoned for speaking Slovene. Marshal Tito and his government are in a position to reopen these schools and rehabilitate the citizens. The Allies, ignorant of the language and customs of these people, cannot do this.

Are Yugoslavs in the twentieth century to be deprived of Trieste and Istria, their just land from the seventh to the nineteenth century, and recognized as such by the greatest of all French (Latin) military leaders—Napoleon?

Chicago, Ill. RICHARD J. ZAVERTNIK

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, of Washington, D. C., writes to us in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and in criticism of T. R. B.'s position against the proposed legislation. Mrs. Miller says, "Why you [T. R. B.] would oppose an amendment that is going to raise the status of women and, therefore, further the dignity of the home and motherhood, is a mystery to me, and that you should call this amendment phony passes belief."

We have also received a letter from Mrs. Virgil Loeb, of St. Louis, Missouri, which reveals that President Truman, who recently indorsed the Equal Rights Amendment, was at one time opposed to the legislation. Mrs. Loeb encloses a copy of a letter from the then Senator Truman to the president of the St. Louis League of Women Voters, dated October 11, 1941, in which he states, "I have always been of the opinion that this amendment would lose more rights than it would guarantee."

The American Council on Public Affairs sends us a copy of its monthly magazine, *Postwar Outlook*, the May issue of which contains, among others, an article on cartels by Wendell Berge, and one on the press in international affairs by Kent Cooper.

The American Council on African Education, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York 18, is soliciting funds for its program of educating Africans in American universities, colleges and technical schools. A goal of $25,000 has been set, which would be sufficient to bring 25 West African students to this country.

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Books in Review

The Dickinson Scandal

SOMETHING about Emily Dickinson's character and genius has almost invariably induced, in her editors and critics and biographers alike, a folksy and condescending tone—as if one were speaking of a small and somewhat naughty child—which at its worst has been pretty near the dead level of small-town gossip, and even at its best liberally first-personal. Perhaps the present reviewer may now be allowed *his* turn at this. Not that I mean for a minute to indulge in any condescension toward one of the greatest of lyric poets: but as the growth of Emily Dickinson's fame has been so persistently clouded or cleared in terms of personalities, by no means always pleasantly, and as Millicent Bingham's *Ancestors' Brocades*[1] deals largely with this very theme, the genesis of a reputation, and as I myself played a small part in what might be called the "second" Dickinson revival, I will put down a few notes and impressions for the record.

My first active intervention in the Dickinson "scene" was in 1923, when I conceived the notion of editing in one volume a selection of the poems. Parenthetically, let me add that the idea was not highly approved of by the literary dictatorship of that period: this was a kind of American poetry which did not fit into the exclusive categories of T. S. Eliot or Ezra Pound. Nor was the idea too cordially received, for that matter, by the publishers. Quite understandably, they were not too anxious to publish a selection which might have the effect of undercutting the sales of the original volumes; nor did they think the Dickinson family—Madame Bianchi—would want it done, as it were, by an outsider. But though an American edition of the selection was thus blocked, permission was at length granted for an edition in England, and this in turn led to my meeting with Madame Bianchi in London. "I," she said on this occasion, "am not in the least like my repressed Aunt Emily. *I*, Mr. Aiken, am *burnt out*!"—a spectacular and somewhat inauspicious beginning to a very brief acquaintanceship. To all my questions as to why so little was divulged about her Aunt Emily, why the persistent air of mystery and hush, she made evasive answers. Did she want me to think that Emily was somehow "queer," or even, by the family, considered a little insane—? and this perhaps in so obvious contrast with herself, a rival author, mind you? She certainly managed to give me that impression, intentionally or not.

But more interesting still, in the light of many subsequent events, was her reply to my question as to the existence of unpublished poems. (Mr. Ferris Greenslet had told me of seeing some in the house at Amherst shortly before.) She said emphatically and repeatedly that none existed. Possessing the knowledge that I did, I could naturally only conclude that she was not telling the truth. But why? What was the motive? Was she actually jealous of her aunt, and at this time still determined to suppress all unpublished material? It seemed a fantastic possibility, but no other occurred to me. When, years later, new poems began periodically to be "discovered," I could only draw my own conclusions. Perhaps, after all, even if belatedly, it was as well to hitch one's wagon to a star—and especially as one's own star had come to so very little.

And, as we now know, this sort of dreadful misfortune in her literary editors has dogged Emily Dickinson from the very outset. Mrs. Bingham tells us how her mother and Colonel Higginson "rhymed" her poems for her—an outrage which we hope, with the newly released material, can be at least partially repaired. But how many poems have been lost? one cannot help wondering. That Colonel Higginson was in the habit of giving away Dickinson poems in manuscript I happened to discover myself, when two estimable English authoresses in Rye, Sussex, came to me with two poems which he had given to them on the occasion of their visit to Boston in the nineties: they wanted to sell them, and did, to the Widener Library. How many others, not considered "good" enough, whether by Higginson or Todd, have thus vanished forever? In the light of all this one can only speculate gloomily on the fate of the still unpublished material—family correspondence, journals and so forth—of which there is said to be a considerable amount. One would like to feel some assurance that this will not be dispersed, but will be put into honest and competent hands.

As for the effect of the new poems[2] on Emily Dickinson's reputation, one has just a little the feeling that they make for a kind of dilution of it. A few of the new poems are as good as the best, and those, of course, are a permanent and precious addition to the little store of great poetry. But so many are fragmentary, or weak, or marred in one way or another, and again so many are so like so many of those previously published, that in the end they tend a little to cancel out. The introspective round begins to seem a shade repetitious and small. "The doctrine of the supremacy of the individual to himself, of his originality and, as regards his own character, *unique* quality, must have had a great charm for people living in a society in which introspection, thanks to the want of other entertainment, played almost the part of a social resource. There was . . . much relish for the utterances of a writer who would help one to take a picturesque view of one's internal possibilities, and to find in the landscape of the soul all sorts of fine sunrises and moonlight effects." This passage on Emerson in Henry James's study of Hawthorne, which I quoted in the preface to the selected poems twenty years ago, still sums up better than anything else the nature and the problem of Emily Dickinson's poetry. The introspective round does begin to seem small, and the landscapes to dim each other out. More than

[1] Ancestors' Brocades: The Literary Debut of Emily Dickinson, by Millicent Todd Bingham. New York: Harper and Brothers. 464 pages. $3.75.

[2] Bolts of Melody: New Poems of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Mabel Loomis Todd and Millicent Todd Bingham. New York: Harper and Brothers. 352 pages. $3.

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almost any other great poet one can think of, Emily Dickinson needs to be protected from her own lavishness—she should be read in a selection, and it is to be hoped that with all the material now at last in print, someone will do this for us. It will be a unique and incomparable book.

CONRAD AIKEN

Life Begins at Fifty

The Male Hormone, by Paul de Kruif. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 243 pages. $2.50.

THERE IS NOW the possibility of a new lease on life for countless men burnt out between the ages of 50 and 75, provided their doctors determine them to be suffering from a serious male-hormone deficiency. This is the theme of de Kruif's expansive biography of testosterone (accent on second syllable, and rhyming with alone), the hormone of the male sex gland.

About 20 years ago, Lemuel C. McGee, an American researcher working in the laboratory of Dr. F. C. Koch of the University of Chicago, joined scores of other young organic chemists who were fishing in the turbulent waters of the hormones. Out of the testes tissue of hundreds of bulls McGee extracted a small quantity of liquid which in April, 1927, he injected into a capon. In a short time the capon's small comb became large and upright, its wattles, too, grew larger, and the gelded cock changed into a fighting rooster. McGee's extract even changed hens into roosters. He had proved the existence of a chemical of masculinity.

A hunt for the pure chemical responsible for this extraordinary effect was started in laboratories all over the world. Five years later a European scientist obtained a pure crystal from the urine of men, and in 1935 Leopold Ruzicka, a Yugoslav scientist working in the Zurich Technical High School in Switzerland, synthesized the pure chemical from the grease of sheep's wool. (In 1929 the American scientist, Edward Doisy, had already obtained pure theelin, the hormone of the female sex gland, and, like Ruzicka, won the Nobel Award for this achievement.)

With the wonders of the other hormones, such as insulin, thyroxin and theelin, and the triumphs of the various vitamins still fresh in their minds, medical men took hold of testosterone and tried it against several diseases of middle and old age. Hundreds of reports of these experiments were printed in scientific journals both here and abroad. De Kruif went through a thousand of these papers. He found many cases of eunuchoids and post-pubertal castrates given sexual potency by testosterone injections. More important than this, he found many reports which claimed that this chemical built new muscle and bones and "renewed tissues as chemicals renew worn out soils." It was said to boost muscle power, banish mental fatigue, ease the pains of angina pectoris and even combat the male climacteric. De Kruif was deeply impressed, and began taking methyl testosterone pills regularly more than a year ago. He appeared to be convinced that it produced definite signs of prolonging his prime of life.

De Kruif is too honest a scientist not to weigh all the available evidence very carefully. He had misgivings more than once. Sometimes the printed reports were negative; in some cases they pointed to actual dangers involved in the indiscriminate dependence upon this elixir. He saw, too, the age-old prejudices of men against the use of a chemical which smacked so broadly of sexy, bawdy, explosive possibilities, and the monkey-gland-graft episodes of the rejuvenation craze of the 1920's. After he had analyzed both sides he was left with the feeling that physicians were not giving this chemical the trial and experimentation it deserved. He felt, too, that medical and research men were not giving testosterone-starved men a break—that the male hormone should be investigated in all men over fifty.

The main contention of the author is sound. But the caution of medical men against using this new tool wholesale as a chemical that will stretch man's prime of life is also justified. The problem of sex and the prolongation of vigorous life will not be solved with one single hormone, a battery of vitamins or several penicillin-like drugs in the same miraculous way that insulin saved diabetics. Sex, general vigor, the human lifespan have multiple roots several of which may lie deep in the chromosomes.

The Male Hormone is a lusty book. It is a crusading book. It is plain talk by a man who more than once has jumped the gun in the fight against death. It is written with the courage, the knowledge and literary power of one whose books are awaited by large numbers of people. It seems, however, that de Kruif might have chosen a more convincing target for his trenchant pen. He should have started yelling for more funds and more long-term research projects aimed at the great medical problems of cancer, heart diseases, arthritis and other cripplers and killers of middle and old age. Now that he has testosterone off his chest and under his belt, we hope he goes after these with his renewed fire and zest.

BERNARD JAFFE

Critic with an Esthetic

The Musical Scene, by Virgil Thomson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 316 pages. $3.

VIRGIL THOMSON is one of the Avant-gardists recently "integrated," as Dwight Macdonald has observed, "into the official culture-structure." After five years, New York *Herald Tribune* readers have learned to take in their stride the flip, trenchant phrases of Gertrude Stein's brilliant friend and collaborator and the penetrating musical analysis which often goes straight and inspirationally to the point. For those who still find him as unpredictable as he is illuminating and absorbing, there is something to gain from seeing his selected music reviews and weekly columns side by side and organized as they are in this book. For when they are viewed as a whole, it is apparent that what is sometimes regarded as wayward noncomformity only seems to be so because his Avant-garde position as a self-styled "neo-Romantic" of the 1930's, who takes his "isms" very seriously, is not yet widely enough understood. Actually, where most music critics are confused and indecisive as to general postulates, or consistent only with regard to certain safe, accepted issues, Thomson has thought matters through for himself and evolved an esthetic. His basic assumptions are more than adumbrated in his writings, and we may thus profit from his unusual critical alertness and

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enormous reservoir of information, while being on guard, at the same time, against first principles with which we may not agree.

Just how these assumptions affect his values is illustrated by his attitude toward the key musicians of our time, Toscanini and Stravinsky. He applies no less sharpness of ear to the great Maestro than to artists he more properly appreciates. Except for weird notions about theatrical style, the conductor's achievements are admirably stated up to a point. When he comes, however, to final appraisal, he oddly discredits qualifications which would seem about the highest anyone could humanly demand. Toscanini's perfection and grasp of architecture are granted, but the consequent "smooth-working mechanics . . . hypnotize" our critic and he "forgets to listen to the music as human communication." He ends by preferring someone with "idiosyncrasies"—Beecham, whom I was happy to see (with Koussevitzky) among the big three, but who is not Toscanini's equal.

In somewhat the same way that Toscanini's absorption in the musical entity makes him "reactionary" for Thomson, so Stravinsky, concerned with the precise curve of line, is found "stiff and a little prim" when he is writing something other than his ballet music. Thomson admires the control and attentiveness of both musicians, but yearns for some deflection, some truancy. Himself a composer of no little native endowment, he realizes that Stravinsky's operative virtues as an artist must be defended whatever one's party prejudices may be. He has gone far indeed to uphold the Russian expatriate. But though the clarity and French charm of Stravinsky's materials are closer to Thomson's heart than Schoenberg's Expressionism, the Viennese composer has lately been receiving the higher praise from this devoutly Francophile critic. For ultimately, Schoenberg's Romantic daring (the correlative of Beecham's idiosyncrasies) is more to Thomson's taste than Stravinsky's traditional procedures, which are linked up in *The Musical Scene* with universities (represented in a rather uncomplimentary light) and retreat.

The full implication, the greatness of Stravinsky's reinstatement of intrinsic tonal relations which are as valid now as they ever were, escapes the *Herald Tribune's* critic when he confounds it with the "academicism" of Brahms. Brahms, it seems to me, resorted to neo-classicism out of Romantic yearning for the remote and esoteric—so much so, that at times the mere formality of his erudite reversion seems greater than his understanding of classical procedures. The same is, perhaps, true of Hindemith today. With Stravinsky, on the contrary, classic method was already predicated in "Petrouchka," before anyone thought of using the dubious, "neo-classic" slogan. When Thomson groups these three composers, he fails to distinguish between formulas and the lasting principles of classical form. And this is regrettable, for it is an instance of a remarkably unhackneyed critic venturing precariously close to notions of our most conservative reviewers.

Thomson remains, nevertheless, one of the healthiest influences in our musical life, for his neo-Romanticism, while overstressing the intimate and nonchalant, draws the line before late-nineteenth-century bombast, prolixity and sententiousness. It is occasion for deep rejoicing—indeed, more than we had ever hoped for—to have some-

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one in a powerful position who describes the symphonic "journalism" of Shostakovich as music for the "slow-witted" and is not taken in by the "gray and dirty-brown orchestral coloring" of Sibelius. To have these sober views, moreover, and be able to express them so well, and to speak at the same time with the authority and insight of a creative musician, show a rare combination of talents. Newspaper reviews are not ideal matter for a book, but those in *The Musical Scene* are full of bold and vital utterances which it is a pleasure to contemplate, and the weekly columns included are surprisingly substantial.

ARTHUR BERGER

The Beast Within

Black Weather, by Berton Roueché. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 185 pages. $2.50.

MR. ROUECHÉ's first novel has a theme—a psychopathic personality—which in his hands powerfully lends itself to an effect of steadily mounting horror. The story begins with Matt and Lolly Hagen's taking furnished rooms at Mrs. Pew's, in a decayed-genteel section of a big Midwestern city. Of course the three flights of stairs are quite a chore for young Lolly, who is expecting her first baby in a few months, and there's also the awful loneliness. With Matt leaving before seven for his newspaper job, the days pass slowly. The other lodgers—Mr. Schoenheit, the tragic refugee Austrian Jew, and old Mr. Truitt, who has been rereading Zane Grey peacefully at Mrs. Pew's for years—aren't much help to a young girl from a small Southern town. Her love for Matt and her joy in the coming child are her anchor, but she longs for a woman friend.

Obese, middle-aged Mrs. Pew, it seems, is lonely too. She often invites Lolly to share her tea and cinnamon toast, and what if she does dwell rather embarrassingly on the amazing virility of her dear departed husband? Lolly finds it harder to bear the over-solicitude about her condition, complete with horrendous old wives' tales of childbirth. After a couple of hours with Mrs. Pew, Lolly generally doesn't feel very well and is apt to be dogged by vague forebodings. Matt, who has discovered—and kept to himself—a good deal about Mrs. Pew, including the fact that she has never been married, urges Lolly to avoid her, but Lolly's naïveté and need of companionship prolong the dangerous intimacy.

And then comes the pitiful affair of Mr. Schoenheit and his American fiancée, in which Mrs. Pew openly gives vent to her frustrations. Even yet the young Hagens aren't out of the woods, but the reader will want to learn the dénouement for himself. It is enough to say that Mr. Roueché has written, with security and skill, an absorbing study in abnormal psychology.

ELIZABETH HULING

Praise of Art

Sight and Insight: A Prediction of New Perceptions in Art, by Richard Guggenheimer. New York: Harper and Brothers. 242 pages. $3.

THIS BOOK is one long act of devotion; and an act of devotion does not require, if it can tolerate, explanation or analysis of its object. Mr. Guggenheimer's idol is art; his fervor (whose sincerity cannot be doubted) clothes itself in the language of metaphysics, imperfectly understood; and he composes what is fundamentally a litany of epithets and titles of honor. The mildest of these tributes may affirm that great painting "draws us nearer to the tranquil immateriality of ultimacy"—one had not suspected there were so many and such elaborate ways of saying, "Wonderful!" To raise the question of literal meaning (much more the question of *truth*) is to expose depths of confusion, of which almost any passage gives the measure:

> The great new discovery which we are on the threshold of making in our esthetics, our science and our metaphysics is that form is not three-dimensional, nor even four-dimensional. It is not dimensional at all. This is the concept that is so difficult for our minds to grasp because we have become habituated to think in terms of substances, boundaries, distances. . . . We do not like to accept the weird verdict that we ourselves are incorporeal any more than that our terrestrial and ethereal element is.

Not all is so bad, since not all is so remote from the sphere of the author's competence. Yet it is fair to say that a vaguely lyrical metaphysic is matrix in this volume for occasional observations on space, color, light and the morbidity of genius.

We are prepared to learn, then, as we learn from Schopenhauer and Hegel and Bergson, from Aldous Huxley and Herbert Read, that art discloses cosmic secrets, provides intimations of ultimate reality, shadows forth the attributes of divinity: "For surely He has chosen form as the

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nearest manifestation of Himself to mortal sense." The emptiness of this claim (empty because it is indifferent to discriminations of good and bad, because it cannot show why "reality" should reveal itself in one tray of apples and conceal itself behind another, because it dodges all the material issues with which the field of criticism is rife) would not prove it baneful if there were not also a modest pedagogic mission to be stultified by it, to be ruined.

Sight and Insight predicts new perceptions for the layman, but it produces none, not even an old one. It rallies us to combat the torpor of the senses, but it fails to *show* a single result that might justify the effort. The reason, I think, is that insight is particular and special while the concepts of metaphysics are all-encompassing and diffuse. Insight lingers on the immediate and perceives that the curve runs just *so* and not, as it might, one millimeter to the left; while the religious rhapsody shoots beyond, to the bourne of True Being, where there is neither black nor white, where Mozart lies down with Sousa, where Cézanne and Gérôme are one.

ARNOLD ISENBERG

Design for Learning

Design for America: An Educational Exploration of the Future of Democracy. Edited by Theodore Brameld. New York: Hayden and Eldredge. 165 pages. $2.

IN A SMALL VILLAGE in Minnesota (population 350) there was recently concluded an experiment in learning which may mark the beginning of something new and fresh in American education. Two local high-school teachers, assisted by a professor from the state university, conducted a special class for 50 junior and senior students in which the subject matter revolved about the question: What do we want the future to be like in the United States? This group devoted itself to the search for an answer to this question for a period of four and one-half months. They began with such issues as: Is planning for the future important and is it our responsibility? What are the appropriate goals for a democratic people? Is planning practical and what methods should be utilized? Where would one go to find materials for study provided one found it desirable to become an intelligent participant in planning?

Following this initial exploration they proceeded to examine themselves and available materials in the light of planning for economic and political goals; the contribution of art and science in planning; the responsibility of education for the improvement of human relations; and they ended with discussions dealing with the future role of the United States in world affairs. *Design for America* gives a detailed account of the experiment and, unlike many other similar records, it does not shrink from admitting difficulties and relative failures. It is not, in other words, an essay of praise but rather a searching appraisal of the kind of work which educators would be required to do if they used the future as a point of reference for education. Although this particular experiment was conducted with high-school pupils, I see no reason why its lessons and results should not be earnestly studied and thereafter emulated by university teachers and especially by leaders of classes in adult education.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

A Reader's List

NAMES ON THE LAND: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States, by George R. Stewart (Random, $3). Mr. Stewart has set out to tell the story of American place-names, from Florida in 1513 (the first non-Indian name) to Lidice, Illinois, in 1942, and has succeeded beyond the reader's most optimistic expectations. The result is a new and fascinating adventure into the American past—at once a unique sourcebook and a lively, sustained historical narrative. "Names are always shadows of the men who give them," and our place-names reflect four hundred years of American enthusiasms, fears and aspirations; the "colorless" *-ville* tacked on to so many towns, for example, is a survival of our Revolutionary ardor, dating strictly from the French alliance of 1778. Studding Mr. Stewart's pages are hundreds of intriguing stories of name-origins (Portland, Oregon, named at the flip of a coin; Sedalia, Missouri, for the pet-name of the founder's daughter) and examples of "folk-etymology," which has converted Les Monts Verts into Lemon Fair, Chemin Couvert into Smackover, and Krum Marisje ("crooked marsh") into Gramercy Park. It's hard to imagine a more American book.

PLANNING: No. 234. Education in the Services (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). PEP here tells the exciting story of Britain's effort to fill the wartime gap in education. Experience in adult education was indeed meager, yet the number of armed-forces voluntary classes increased more than tenfold from 1941 to 1944. The various organizations that were established to meet the needs of Britain's soldiers and sailors are described in detail. Both traditional and experimental techniques were employed; lectures and visual aids were frequently supplemented by group discussions. In addition to studying the essential fields of science and mathematics, the groups were concerned with modern languages, handicrafts and the arts. The major purpose, says PEP, was to increase individual efficiency, and that could be achieved only if the soldier "knows what he fights for and loves what he knows." The educational program tried to give the participants a "fuller

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understanding of the achievements and possibilities of the British way of life and of the responsibility of the individual for their present defense and future development." Adult education, the editors conclude, must become an essential part of Britain's national life.

THE ASIAN LEGACY AND AMERICAN LIFE, edited by Arthur E. Christy (John Day, $3.50). Professor Christy, Curt Sachs, Laurance P. Roberts, Walter T. Swingle, Stephen B. L. Penrose Jr., Oliver J. Caldwell, John Gould Fletcher, William York Tindall, William Ernest Hocking, A. K. Coomaraswamy and, of course, Pearl Buck discuss learnedly the interrelationships in science, art, religion and philosophy between East and West, with particular reference to the Occidental debt to Asia. The essays are earnest and thoughtful and in some cases perhaps a trifle esoteric to be of major aid in bringing about widespread recognition of the value of the legacy. In subject matter the chapters range from John Gould Fletcher's study of the Orient, contemporary poetry and Ezra Pound through William York Tindall's consideration of transcendentalism in modern literature to Walter T. Swingle's contemplation of the soy bean. In her summation, Miss Buck makes the valuable point that it is nonsense to say that the East is "spiritual" and the West "material," which sounds like a thrust at her old friend, Lin Yutang. At the end of the book there are some interesting documents about the early days of the East India trade.

THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT, by Nym Wales (John Day, $2.75). An extremely useful study of the history of the Chinese labor movement from 1922 up to the present. It contains detailed information on Chinese wages, standards of living, conditions of labor, industrial coöperatives, labor legislation and welfare work, along with thumbnail sketches of Chinese labor leaders, and a useful chronology of historic events. This is an indispensable reference book for those interested in China's basic social and economic conditions.

IF THE PROSPECT PLEASES, by Ladd Haystead (Oklahoma, $2.50). Whether or not President Truman's cabinet appointments have been to the Right or Left, they certainly have been from East to West. This shift heightens interest in the attempt of *Fortune's* farm editor to give "a fairly comprehensive and critical view of the West." In his determination to be objective, Mr. Haystead gives some facts about water, land and people that ought to be better known east of the 100th meridian and more widely admitted west of it. He ends on the familiar note that the West is not properly treated by the East; but he doesn't say just what should be done, other than to reduce freight rates. In support of this indefinite program, he advances the novel argument that a "strong West" would be an outer "first bulwark to whatever negative forces may come back from the Setting Sun, or to put it frankly, The Bear."

LAUGHTER ON THE HILL, by Margaret Parton (Whittlesey, $2.75). Thirty years ago, Lem Parton was a member of the brilliant crowd of young men whom Fremont Older gathered about him on the staff of the San Francisco *Bulletin* in its pre-Hearst days. Later he moved to New York, where he wrote a widely syndicated daily column. His daughter Margaret, having lived in San Francisco during the first decade of her life, came to New York with her family, finished her education, and spent a few adult years in the metropolis doing magazine, radio and publicity work. In 1940 she went back solo to San Francisco and lived for a couple of years in that city's equivalent for Greenwich Village, on Telegraph Hill, among artists, writers, reporters, young intellectuals of both sexes and various occupations, and the usual proportion of drunken bums. She has written a light, amusing account of her sojourn which is reminiscent sometimes of *The Story of San Michele* in its skillful mingling of fact and harmless fiction. San Francisco remains one of the few American cities with an authentic character of its own, and Miss Parton draws a recognizable portrait to which no present-day native can object unless he is incorrigibly imbued with boosterism. It is ironic to think that this hasty and slender volume will make Miss Parton better known, and to a far larger circle, than her late father's lifetime of sober, industrious, impersonal journalism.

DAN SICKLES, by Edgcumb Pinchon (Doubleday, Doran, $3.50). Being an account of the life and *marvelous adventures* of the heroic General Daniel E. Sickles, which relates for the first time the *full truth* concerning his marriage, his tragic betrayal by his young and beautiful wife, his ensuing *murder* of her Seducer, and his trial and vindication; tells of his courageous exploits at the momentous battle of Gettysburg, which cost him a limb and made possible the preservation of the American Union, of his mission to Spain and subsequent *illicit amour* with the scandalous Queen Isabella; and sundry other strange experiences—diplomatic, political, erotic, felonious and otherwise—with photographic illustrations—all in the inimitable prose of the masterful author of *Viva Villa!*

Contributors

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